

LOUD AND PROUD: A LIBERAL MANIFESTO!

THE AMERICAN Prospect

LIBERAL INTELLIGENCE

EXCLUSIVE
Spencer Ackerman
on how long we're
really staying in Iraq

The Global Warming Profiteers

Right-wing fanatics may deny the polar meltdown—but big oil is banking on it.

By Joshua Kurlantzick

NOVEMBER 2006

FALL BOOKS ISSUE • TOWARD A HIGH-WAGE ECONOMY

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*"Thank God men cannot fly,
and lay waste the sky as well
as the earth."*

— HENRY DAVID THOREAU

FEATURES

REPORT

26 What Lies Beneath *by Joshua Kurlantzick*

Some major oil companies run gauzy PR campaigns touting their concern over global warming. Meanwhile, as the polar ice cap melts, more of the Earth's surface area becomes drillable—so they're snapping up leases as fast as they can. Welcome to the global warming industry.



INVESTIGATION

17 War in Iraq, 2003-?? *by Spencer Ackerman*

The Pentagon didn't want to stay in Iraq forever. But Bush officials won't say whether we're building permanent bases there—so the Army is now planning for the (very) long haul. A special investigation into what we're building, and where.

STATEMENT

24 We Answer to the Name of Liberals *by Bruce Ackerman and Todd Gitlin*

Have liberals—all liberals—really “acquiesced in President Bush's catastrophic foreign policy” and failed to say what we stand for? No, say the authors—and 44 other distinguished signatories. A manifesto for liberals in the waning Bush era.

SPECIAL PACKAGE

32 The Road to Good Jobs

The recent structural changes in the global economy have reduced the supply of reliable jobs—and this has not happened by accident, but by design. Here's how it can start to change. The first articles in a series, with an introduction by *Robert Kuttner*, and articles by *Joan Fitzgerald*, *Harold Meyerson*, and *Alan S. Blinder*.

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DISPATCHES

- 11 **Sour Mashed** *by Brian Beutler*
It's the end of the line for Bill Frist as Senate majority leader—and both left and right are throwing parties.
- 13 **Who Glossed China?** *By Eamonn Fingleton*
Meet Nicholas Lardy, Washington's leading China hand. He's widely respected. Too bad he's almost always wrong.

COLUMNS

- 3 **Prospects:** Pyongyang Boomerang
by Paul Starr
- 8 **The Out Years:** Human Failings
by Mark Schmitt
- 9 **Comment:** Where the Boys Are
by Jaana Goodrich
- 60 **Off Topic:** Map Quest
by Michael Tomasky

CULTURE & BOOKS

- 47 **TELEVISION:** Bodymore, Murdaland *by Richard Byrne*
Reflections on why calling HBO's *The Wire* a cop show is kind of like calling Guernica a nice little painting.
- 49 **BOOKS:** The New Open Society *by Jedediah Purdy*
Has the new utopia promised by the tech boom's cyber-prophets lived up to its billing? Depends on the book.
- 52 **BOOKS:** What It Will Take *by Robert Kuttner*
Thomas Edsall's new book is a downer for Democrats; Jacob Hacker names and anatomizes a potent trend.
- 54 **BOOKS:** How Capitalism Works Now
by Harold Meyerson
Two vital exposes of our workers-be-damned system ...
- 56 **BOOKS:** A Republic, If We Can Build It
by Richard N. Volelly
... and two takes on restoring our old social contract.
- 58 **BOOKS:** The Imperial Klutz *by Lawrence Korb*
Stephen Kinzer's compelling history of U.S. intervention.

DEPARTMENTS

- 4 **Correspondence**
- 6 **Up Front:** It's November, and we're screwed;
sneak peek at Bob Woodward's next three books;
plus The Question

Pyongyang Boomerang

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT DURING THE PAST SIX years has been a study in dissipation. No, I'm not referring to the Mark Foley scandal. I mean the dissipation of American power and influence in the world—the latest consequence of which is North Korea's

explosion of a nuclear weapon. Rather than deterring Pyongyang from going nuclear, Bush's policies gave it both motive and opportunity to proceed.

How has the administration dissipated the nation's power? Let us count the ways.

The Iraq War has consumed American military resources—indeed, stretched them so thin that the war has emboldened Iran and North Korea.

The Bush administration's early unilateralism, repudiation of international norms on such matters as torture, and arrogance toward what Donald Rumsfeld called "old Europe" have alienated America's allies and international public opinion.

The administration's refusal to negotiate with hostile countries has reduced the nation's capacity to use diplomacy to forestall crises.

The budget and trade deficits run-up during the Bush presidency have increased dependence on foreign infusions of capital.

And, finally, the administration has proclaimed doctrines and made threats that it has proved unable to carry out, thereby undermining U.S. credibility.

As the North Koreans surely noticed, the early thrust of the Bush presidency was a determination to take the fight to the enemy and to change hostile regimes rather than negotiate with them. Deterrence was out; preemptive strikes and preventive war were in. Instead of the "reactive posture" of the past, the ad-

ministration called for a forward projection of power.

Forward it was—forward to fiasco. Bush implicitly threatened Iran and North Korea along with Iraq when he named them as part of the "axis of evil," but once American forces became bogged down in Iraq, the United States had no credible threat against the other two. Under the circumstances, the decisions of both North Korea and Iran to accelerate their nuclear programs were utterly rational. Bush thereby brought on the very situation the United States has sought to avert—nuclear weapons in the hands of a rogue state that might sell it to terrorists. And now we are back to multilateralism and deterrence, except that North Korea's acquisition of nuclear weapons is almost certainly an irreversible loss for our safety and security.

We will never know if the accommodation with North Korea begun under Clinton could have induced it to put aside its nuclear ambitions. We do know, however, that Bush's policies boomeranged and that we are worse off today than we were six years ago.

The hawks in the administration may think North Korea's bomb proves that there is no alternative but to use in-

creased pressure on Pyongyang to bring about a change of regime. The trouble is that we don't have the power to ensure that result and by squeezing North Korea harder, we could once again precipitate exactly what we are trying to prevent. A desperate North Korea may be more likely to sell nuclear technology. And if the regime begins to collapse, it may lose control of its own weapons. Instead of trying to take Kim Jong Il down, we would be better off talking to him in the hope of easing tensions and bringing about an evolutionary change of the regime.

In the meantime, we will need to rely on imperfect methods of deterrence and containment. By identifying the nuclear "fingerprint" in any future explosion or captured device, other nations can hold North Korea accountable for selling or transferring nuclear weapons. The resolution passed by the U.N. Security Council calling for limited sanctions against North Korea is helpful mainly because China was willing to sign on to the measure. Whether the sanctions will be enforced or have any impact depends on the Chinese.

An increasingly hopeless war in Iraq, a nuclear North Korea, an aggressive fundamentalist government in Iran—such are the fruits of Bush's crusade against the "axis of evil." In all three situations, there are no good options, at least none that offer any promise of short-term success. To break out of the impasse, we need a leadership that has a different

theory about how America can be a strong and secure nation and a positive force in the world. As we look ahead to 2008, this ought to be a central challenge for an alternative foreign policy and a future administration: how to restore the power that America has lost and how to make America the kind of power that it should be. **TAP**

— PAUL STARR

*A nuclear Korea,
futile Iraq War,
aggressive Iran:
Such is Bush's
progress on the
"axis of evil."*



Reviewer Reviewed

I WAS FLATTERED THAT Peter Steinfels [“Be Not Afraid,” September 2006] grouped me with Kevin Phillips and James Rudin in his essay about new books on the religious right. The author and I obviously disagree about a great deal, but it would be churlish of me to argue with his conclusions here. I do want to take issue with a few lines that seem to be factually misleading.

I very much wish Steinfels had offered his version of the other side in the Salvation Army case, which involved religious and anti-gay discrimination in government-funded social services. I’m not sure which sources Steinfels thinks I should have relied on, but I based my narrative on official Salvation Army documents and on interviews with former Salvation Army employees who had been ordered to identify gay co-workers, criticized for hiring non-Christians, and directed to have subordinates fill out forms listing their churches and their pastors’ contact information. The court didn’t rule against these former employees because it rejected their version of events. It ruled that the Salvation Army

*I can only wish
[Peter Steinfels]
had provided
some contrary
evidence.*

— MICHELLE GOLDBERG
AUTHOR OF KINGDOM COMING

had a right to behave in this way, because civil-rights law allows religious groups to prefer members of their own faith. Until Bush came to power, an executive order prohibited discrimination in government-funded faith-based outfits; Bush rescinded it. The Bush administration has thus succeeded in making taxpayer-funded religious discrimination legal. In my opinion, that doesn’t make it any less reprehensible.

As for Steinfels claim that my conclusions about crisis pregnancy centers are “but an artifact of the hardball polemics about abortion,” again, I can only wish he’d provided some contrary evidence. My reporting about crisis pregnancy centers was based on visits to several of them and interviews with people who run them, as well as on pamphlets distributed by the largest crisis pregnancy center affiliations and on government reports about the centers’ practices. Since my book has come out, Congressman Henry Waxman, D-Calif., had staffers call 25 federally funded crisis pregnancy centers posing as pregnant 17-year-olds. They reached 23 of them, and of those 23, 20 provided false or misleading information about abortion.

“Often these federally funded centers grossly misrepresented the medical risks of abortion, telling the callers that having an abortion could increase the risk of breast cancer, result in sterility, and lead to suicide and ‘post-abortion stress disorder,’” Waxman wrote in a report released this summer.

MICHELLE GOLDBERG
Author of Kingdom Coming: The Rise of Christian Nationalism

Peter Steinfels responds:

Michelle Goldberg’s book (pp. 129-133) presents only the side of Salvation Army complainants, including an evocation of the Holocaust. There is no comment from any Salvation Army official, or from any legal scholar who might have explained why long-standing safeguards for religious liberty would prove decisive for the court’s ruling, which did not turn, by the way, on any act of the Bush administration.

The only citations for Goldberg’s sinister characterizations of thousands of crisis pregnancy centers (“lure” ... “trick”) are all staunchly pro-choice sources, with the exception of one manual from a “now-defunct St. Louis-based group.” These centers may “do some good,” she writes in passing, but evidently they don’t have a single thoughtful defender. While I take seriously the findings of fervently pro-choice Congressman Waxman’s staff, it is naïve to consider this a nonpartisan study, which at a minimum would have included a “control” inquiry into the completeness and accuracy of information from abortion clinics.

I don’t have time or space to develop my own accounts of these cases to pose against

Goldberg’s, noting where we might agree (yes!) and disagree. But her accounts give no indication of seeking out and registering opposing or dispassionate views. That’s too bad. Given her reportorial talent, the results would have been more nuanced, helpful, and convincing.

Food for Thought

THE CONTROVERSIES about abortion rights, and stem cell research could be clarified. When most people think about conception or pregnancy they picture, in their mind’s eye, a baby (not a blastocyst or embryo). This leads some people to confuse a fertilized egg with a baby [and] religious considerations are easily added.

A study done in England not too long ago showed that perhaps 40 percent of fertilized eggs were missing so much chromosomal material that a pregnancy would not last long enough to be noticed.

If the population continues to double every 50 years then by the year 3000 A.D. there would be one person per square foot on the surface of the earth. Since we cannot send a million people a week into space, effective family planning would be mankind’s best bet. We will have to train ourselves to temper our emotions (even the laudable ones) with the rational thinking necessary for survival.

ROBERT FORREST, M.D.
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Letters to the editors should be sent to letters@prospect.org or mailed to The Editors, The American Prospect, 2000 L St., NW, Suite 717, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Up Front



WE'RE SCREWED!

Print may not be dead, but it sure is slow. This issue was sent to the printer on October 17. It'll hit newsstands on November 3. It'll remain there until early December. And in the middle of that publication cycle, a pivotal election will happen—one that this issue cannot in any way address. Excuse us while we scream.

Rest assured, there will be constant midterm election commentary at our high-tech Internet outpost www.prospect.org to compensate for the pitfalls of monthly magazine publishing. But even so, we ask you, our beloved reader, not to leave this magazine ignorant and out-of-date, and to complete the article below. Call it citizen journalism:

On November 7, Republicans [please circle one] held their ground against the Democrats/collapsed in the face of the left's resurgent populism and rediscovered spine. For this magazine, the outcome was as expected: We've long maintained that [please circle one] unless/until Democrats finally rediscovered their roots and relearned the language of liberalism, they would remain out of power. The American people evidently agreed. It's now time for Democrats to heed the [please circle one] message/mandate and refocus their energies on the core problems of the Bush era: stagnating middle-class wages, the deterioration of the employer-based health-care system, the misguided war in Iraq, and the grotesque aggregation of executive power perpetrated by the administration. The 2006 midterms marked [please circle one] a true turning point/yet one more wake-up call for Democrats. The real work has yet to be done.

— EZRA KLEIN

DEATH WISH

Breaking news: People are dying in Iraq. Of course, just how many has been the subject of some debate. Researchers at Johns Hopkins released a massive, rigorous cluster sample survey of Iraqi casualties in October, which found, between 2003 and 2006, an estimated 654,965 “excess deaths”—that is, deaths above and beyond the country's prewar mortality rate. What did President Bush think of the finding? “I don't consider it a credible report,” said the president at a press conference, citing as evidence for this claim nothing more the fact that General George Casey agreed with him. Instead, Bush stood by his count from December, when he said that “more or less” 30,000 Iraqis had been killed—a wild guesstimate that Press Secretary Scott McClellan emphasized at the time was not an official government count. We're certain that it isn't official this time, either. More or less.

A HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

To be sure, at the same press conference, Bush was careful to “applaud” the Iraqis for their courage in the face of this daunting carnage, even if he didn't quite couch it in terms that accepted U.S. responsibility for any of it: “I am amazed that this is a society which so wants to be free that they're willing to—

that there's a level of violence that they tolerate. And it's now time for the Iraqi government to work hard to bring security in neighborhoods so people can feel at peace.” In terms of tolerating violence, Bush must have been referring to the 61 percent of Iraqis that now approve of attacks against Americans, according to a huge World Public Opinion poll released in October. The poll also found that 78 percent of Iraqis believe the American military presence is “provoking more conflict than it is preventing” and that 71 percent favor U.S. withdrawal within one year.



THE GAMBLER

Meanwhile, the president's expressed thoughts on North Korea's nuclear test were perhaps more alarming than anything else, if only because he appears to be basing his actions on a very confused poker metaphor. Multilateral negotiations (i.e., refusing to talk to North Korea and pleading with China, Japan, and Russia to fix everything) are the way to go, the president said. Why? “One has a stronger hand when there's more people playing your same cards.” Ante up.

ERIC PALMA; AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

THE QUESTION: WHAT'S THE ALL-TIME BEST WASHINGTON SEX SCANDAL?

"Chuck Robb and Tai Collins. Larry King's interview with Collins is a classic. 'And then the sexual occurrence was in New York?' was an actual question."

— **Chuck Todd**, *The Hotline*



"Wilbur Mills, Ways and Means Committee chairman and second-most powerful man in Washington, dallying drunk with stripper Fanne Foxe ('the Argentine firecracker')." "

— **Eric Rauchway**, *historian, UC Davis*



"Clinton-Lewinsky, as it gave us new definitions for 'cigar,' 'sexual relations,' and 'is.'"

— **Curtis Gans**, *director, Center for the Study of the American Electorate*



HANNITIZED

As part of its new "You're a Great American," ad cam-



paign, General Motors has picked Alan Colmes—abuser **Sean Hannity**

as its spokesman. Who better to kick off a new sales initiative meant to expand the appeal of a diminishing brand than the guy who said a Kerry win would be a victory for the terrorists and keeping Nancy Pelosi out of the speakership was "worth ... dying for"? Some manager over there should figure out which ad executive thought GM's problem was that too many Democrats were buying their cars—and fire him.

OPEN SECRET

David Kuo, former No. 2 in the president's Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, recently released a book revealing how the administration has played religious conservatives for suckers. "National Christian leaders," Kuo complains, "received hugs and smiles in person and then were dismissed behind their backs and described as 'ridiculous' and 'out of control.'" Conservative pundit Tucker Carlson recently made the same revelation—that "elites in the Republican Party have pure contempt for the evangelicals." Of course, this is hardly a bombshell. Indeed, in his typically pithy manner, disgraced Jack Abramoff

crony (and Tom DeLay aide) Michael Scanlon laid out the blueprint better than anyone in a 2001 memo to a tribal client: "The wackos get their information through the Christian right ... Simply put, we want to bring out the wackos to vote against something and make sure the rest of the public lets the whole thing slip past them."

NEUTRALITY

It wasn't long ago that Joe Lockhart was Bill Clinton's affable, preternaturally com-

posed press secretary. And it *really* wasn't long ago that he was one of the grown-ups brought in to right the then-floundering Kerry campaign. Since that election he's become a shill for telecom companies, aiding their efforts to undo the "net neutrality" regulation of the Internet and begin charging variable rates for bandwidth usage. As part of their political team, Lockhart's Glover Park Group recently conducted a completely nonslanted and rigorous poll that asked participants:

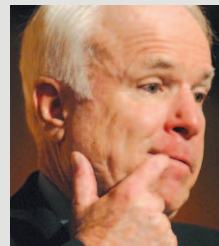
"Which of the following two items do you think is the most important to you: Delivering the benefits of new TV and video choice so consumers will see increased competition and lower prices for cable TV, *OR* Enhancing Internet neutrality by barring high-speed Internet providers from offering specialized services like faster speed and increased security for a fee?" Follow-up question: If you chose the second option, do you also enjoy kicking puppies? **TAP**

PARODY

Bob Woodward's Next Three Books

Commander in Chief: John McCain's Ascendancy.

An in-depth portrait, as only legendary investigative journalist Bob Woodward can render it, of how war hero and maverick senator John McCain beat the ambitious Hillary Clinton to the White House—then moved to restore America's standing in the world. The reinstatement of the draft, the invasion of Iran—Woodward gets the inside story on all this and more, offering an astonishingly intimate portrait of the man whom many are calling, just two years into his first term, one of America's greatest presidents.



The Plan: McCain's War on Poverty.

Legendary investigative journalist Bob Woodward strikes again—and this time, the author casts his gaze toward President McCain's bold tax-and-budget deal of 2011. Told partly through the eyes of Vice President Sam Brownback, White House Chief of Staff Tony Snow, and other key players behind the deal, *The Plan* offers readers a fly-on-the-wall

account of how the administration maneuvered Democrats into supporting the president's 15 percent flat tax—what many are calling the boldest domestic agenda since Lyndon Johnson's presidency.

Meltdown: Inside the Collapse of the McCain Administration.

An astonishingly intimate portrait of a presidency in crisis. Documenting the disastrous first year of President McCain's second term, legendary investigative journalist Bob Woodward reveals how the roots of McCain's failure lay at the very inception of his presidency. It's all here: The massive protests over the draft, the catastrophe in Iran, and the 2011 tax-and-budget deal—passed over the objections of Vice President Brownback and McCain's own chief of staff—that plunged the country into recession. Woodward also gives a fly-on-the-wall account of the president's increasingly violent temper, culminating in his infamous physical assault on Grover Norquist in a Washington hotel lobby. Not to be missed.

Human Failings

BY MARK SCHMITT

THE CROWNING DISGRACE OF THIS COUNTRY'S FIVE-year experiment with one-party Republican rule was surely the passage of a bill on September 29 that sanctioned abusive treatment of prisoners in the "war on terror," banned habeas corpus claims for those identified

as "enemy combatants," and allowed the president to place that designation on anyone, including U.S. citizens.

Even with their president's approval ratings at Nixonian levels, and their own sinking below that, congressional Republicans were able to muster one last grand gesture of disciplined subservience to their only master, power itself. Their logic was best expressed by Senator Arlen Specter, who declared, "I can't support [this] bill. ... I'd be willing, in the interest of party loyalty, to turn the clock back 500 years, but 800 years goes too far." And then he sucked it up and voted yea to the 12th century.

Democrats opposed the bill but elected not to fight or filibuster. Perhaps it was a reasonable calculation: A filibuster would have failed, and many days' worth of headlines would have shifted the agenda to President Bush's preferred frame—we Republicans are the only things holding back the coming Islamofascist caliphate.

But why was the calculation reasonable? What created the political conditions that made torture not only a political issue, but one in which the moral absolute—"don't torture"—became the losing side?

THERE EXISTS IN THIS COUNTRY something called the "human-rights movement." Its key organizations—Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, the American Civil Liberties Union, and others—are well funded and respected, and have had some notable successes. But as a political force, unfor-

tunately, they were not strong enough either to force the Republicans to balk at this bill or to force the Democrats to see that they could withstand the political fallout of the moral stance. Why?

It's not that they didn't work hard enough or muster good arguments or mobilize their members. But three factors limited their ability to influence the recent debate. First, all three organizations have been under sustained attack. Amnesty and Human Rights Watch, both of which operate from the belief that credibility and truth have a power of their own, have been deemed "controversial" for the very act of telling the truth, the first for the use of the accurate word "gulag" to describe the network of secret CIA prisons that Bush later promised to close, the latter for its reporting on the Lebanon War.

Second, these organizations have generally eschewed politics. They were founded during the high tide of legal liberalism, the era when the prevailing assumption was that the true path to justice ran not through Congress but through the courts. It was the era in which organizations with names that end with the phrase "Legal Defense Fund" or begin with the phrase "Lawyers Committee for" were created. And while several

have recently changed their names (the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights became Human Rights First), those assumptions are deeply rooted.

Finally, the human-rights movement, to a greater degree than just about any advocacy community, depends on and prides itself on bipartisan support. And with good reason. The cross-party alliances they formed involve not just the familiar dying remnant of moderate Republicans, but genuine conservatives who hold real power in their party: Religious conservatives such as Senator Sam Brownback and Congressman Chris Smith join forces on international human rights, and libertarians like former Congressman Bob Barr back the ACLU on domestic privacy issues. The human-rights movement is reluctant to jeopardize those alliances.

BUT THE MILITARY DETAINEE BILL put the value of these bipartisan alliances to the test. When the question was called, where were those Republicans? I suspect Specter spoke for all of them: Nothing is more important than power.

In such circumstances, the human-rights movement has to learn what other advocates learned earlier: Social change is a matter of political power. The human-rights movement will have to go beyond persuading those who hold power, using the tools of truth and legal argument, but will also have to join the fight to change the basic structure of power in American society, just as the dissidents they support do abroad. That will mean joining in electoral

The human-rights lobby learns a hard lesson about bipartisanship in a recent fight over torture legislation.

fight, and often finding themselves fully ensconced within one party's coalition. Someday, perhaps soon, there will again be a Republican Party that responds to evidence and respects international law, the Constitution, and simple morality. But until that day comes, the strategies that worked so well in the 1980s and 1990s will fail again and again, even on the simplest moral question. **TAP**

Where the Boys Are

BY JAANA GOODRICH

REMEMBER TITLE IX, THE FEDERAL LEGISLATION that guarantees equality by sex in education? It was passed in 1972, on the heels of racial integration, and with a rather similar rationale: Separate was not deemed to be equal either in law or in educational outcomes. By

1995, only three sex-segregated public schools remained.

Fast forward to September 2006, and what do you find? More than 40 totally sex-segregated public schools and another 200 with sex-segregated classes in topics other than sex education or sports. What happened? Have we backpedaled on gender equality in education?

Conservatives would say that we have gone too far in the other direction. Christine Hoff-Sommers regards the coeducational classrooms as battlefields and boys as the losers of these battles. A new movement advocating more single-sex schools explains why: biological determinism. According to pop psychologists Michael Gurian and Leonard Sax, prophets of this movement, girls and boys have such inherently different brains that they must be educated separately. Boys, from Mars, thrive on hierarchical structure, abstract thought, and stress. Girls, from Venus, thrive in relaxed situations (take off those shoes), do best with very concrete examples, and can't take stress. Sax wants teachers to yell at boys and to provide sofas for girls. Because of the blue and pink brains, you know.

Too bad that the scientific evidence underlying these recommendations is unclear at best and nonexistent at worst. Mark Liberman, on the Web site Language Log, takes apart some of the bad science Sax uses in his popular book *Why Gender Matters*. He also points out that any average sex differences in learn-

ing styles are small and swamped by individual variations within each sex. Likewise, Janet Hyde of the University of Wisconsin reviewed 46 meta-analyses of sex differences in cognition and found the two sexes more similar than different, and a recent international study of single-sex schools failed to show them outperforming coed schools for either boys or girls. A study by Education Sector, a Washington-based think tank, found that on average, boys are doing just fine, with increasing test scores and more college degrees, though low-income boys deserve more help.

If this is true, where did the idea of a boy crisis come from? From sloppy research and our discomfort with the idea of girls doing even better, the study answers. Those supporting single-sex schools these days have modeled their campaign on the Title IX effort of three decades ago: They claim that the coeducational school system is discriminatory—but this time the victims are male. Just consider the list of Gurian's recent publications: *The Minds of Boys*, *The Wonder of Boys*, *The Wonder of Girls*, *The Good Son*, and *What Stories Does My Son Need*. Sax's new book, to be published in

2007, is *Boys Adrift: What's Really Behind the Growing Epidemic of Unmotivated Boys*. Single-sex schools are expected to solve this so-called boy crisis in education.

So far, the Bush administration has been all too eager to apply itself to this conservative crisis. Thus, in 2004, it proposed changes to the way Title IX can be interpreted within the No Child Left Behind program, and it is also offering funds for school districts wishing to experiment with single-sex education. (States from Louisiana to Michigan have expressed interest.) We are soon to hear more about these new interpretations. If they become funding guidelines, it would be perfectly OK for a school district to offer a single-sex option as long as the other sex is offered something "substantially" equal. As far as I know, nobody knows what "substantially" means here, and that is the worry. Would it be "substantially" equal to offer one gender smaller class sizes and more teachers than the other sex? What about offering the two genders different content in their classes, perhaps based on unscientific stereotypes about

boys and girls?

None of this probably bothers the Republican Party's socially conservative base. Social conservatives already view gender roles as innately determined and single-sex schools fit admirably into their sexual abstinence agenda. Neither are

conservative anti-feminists likely to be upset over these developments: Anything that pokes a finger in the eye of second-wave feminists with their claims of equal treatment for girls and boys is fun for this group.

No, it's for the rest of us to worry whether separate can ever mean equal. Poor Title IX. How low you have fallen. **TAP**

Jaana Goodrich is a recovering economist.



This Is Progress?: A boys-only school

Dispatches

"Lardy proves the wisdom of the observation that it's better for one's career to be conventionally wrong than unconventionally right."

— PAGE 15



And the Frist Shall Be Last: Nasty partisan and total Bush lackey; but he was nice to gorillas.

CAPITOL HILL

SOUR MASHED

Tennessee's Bill Frist is leaving the Senate. Left and right are happy.

BY BRIAN BEUTLER

IT TOOK ABOUT THREE YEARS OF helping to turn Afghanistan into a failed state before Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist, the Republican from Tennessee, experienced his first moment of clarity. "A political solution is how it's all going to be solved," Frist told reporters at a U.S. military installation in the country on a visit a few weeks ago. "You need to bring [the Taliban] into a more transparent type of government."

The wisdom of Frist's advice can certainly be debated (can the Taliban be in Afghanistan what, in essence, Hezbollah is in Lebanon?). But it does at least present an extremely rare acknowledgment

from a Bush Republican that diplomacy and negotiation are useful policy tools.

Unfortunately, that's just about the only time in the last five years that Frist, who is leaving the Senate after this election, has worn even a mild hue of independence—or displayed original, forward thinking, or the courage to take a heterodox stance on an issue simply because it happened to be correct. As he ends his legislative career, Frist stands at the helm of a Senate he helped to weaken. Whether it was in service of the White House advisers who adopted him as a dauphin to George W. Bush, or as an ill-planned lunge for the Republican base

in an opportunistic bid for a future presidency, Frist almost always did the wrong thing, both as a legislator and as a politician. And this, it seems, has likely ended his career in Republican politics in Washington.

FRIST DIDN'T ALWAYS SEEM SO HAP- less. Four years ago, he was a king-maker—the campaign leader who netted nearly \$70 million in funds during the 2002 midterm elections to help Republican candidates take control of the Senate. Then there was Bill Frist the crown taker, the strategically agile opportunist who seized the leadership position that Trent Lott was forced to abdicate in disgrace. Finally, there was Bill Frist the president in training, whose successes in his first months at the helm of the Senate—cheap and partisan though they were—hinted at real political acumen and won him the support of the people who'd made Bush president.

But then he toppled headlong through a series of follies into a political ignominy that's rare even in Washington. Frist the charlatan, for instance, was a high-ranking officer in the culture wars who dragged the Republican Party into perhaps its only defeat in the eyes of its evangelical base during the entirety of the Bush era. His role was to offer the country, and Terri Schiavo's shattered family, what might rightly be called a telemisdiagnosis. "Persistent vegetative state," Frist cautioned. "I question it. I question it based on a review of the video footage, which I spent an hour or so looking at last night in my office."

The effort to intervene in the courts' decision and in Michael Schiavo's wishes for his wife "backfired big time," said one senior Democratic aide. "People were turned off, Republicans and Democrats alike." Even the most generous poll found evangelicals evenly divided. Frist (and, of

course, the president) had split the base.

Reliance on partisanship damaged Frist at other times as well. When he found himself caught between the bipartisan McCain-Kennedy immigration coalition in the Senate and the cries from the far right and the House of Representatives to seal the border, Frist froze. He knifed comprehensive reform entirely. And by allowing the House legislation to become law Frist raised serious questions about how a man of his disposition—who could not handle the political fallout from a rift between his president and his base—could ever be president, let alone continue to be majority leader. “This,” said a political aide close to the reform effort, “was a battle that he didn’t want to fight.”

There were other signs that Frist may have checked out of politics mentally. In a widely read *Washington Post* article that ran just after the immigration debacle, it was revealed that instead of concentrating on his job, Frist was at the zoo treating captive gorillas for heart disease. “There’s almost a spiritual, poetic component to it,” Frist said to the *Post* about his

veterinary hobby. “This oneness, this wholeness. You can’t compare it to the Senate floor. I immerse myself in it. This is my real life.”

BUT PARTISANSHIP AND ESCAPISM aside, Frist’s legacy may be most tainted by a stunning lack of independence and a perfunctory adherence to White House orders. He pushed forward Bush measures on health savings accounts and the Medicare prescription drug benefit in lieu of smarter policies and at a taxpayer cost of billions. He sat beside Bush friend and counsel Harriet Miers after the president announced her as his nominee to the Supreme Court and offered his support: “Harriet is a nomination that we are excited about, we are pleased with.” His pledge was not only ungrammatical, but unpersuasive: “We” did not include the several Republican senators, and many other prominent Republicans and conservatives, who groaned in surprise and dismay at the nomination. “[Frist] undermined the Senate’s prerogative, weakening the in-

stitution, in order to carry Bush’s water. ... Only a few Republicans will say that this represents a failure of leadership now, but historians will whack him for it,” said a senior aide and confidant to former Senate Democratic leader and Frist foe Tom Daschle.

It seems clear that Frist pursued this subservience because he thought it was the best route to the White House in 2008. He had reason to believe it, and to be loyal—he got the leadership position because of Karl Rove’s support. But that support was double-edged: Without it, he might have been less intent upon simply retaining it, and his mind could have remained more focused on the pressing business of the Senate. In the days after Bush was sworn in for his second term, *The Weekly Standard*, handicapping the 2008 elections, wrote that “unlike Giuliani’s and McCain’s, Frist’s fortunes are partly tied to President Bush. As Senate majority leader, Frist will earn credit—or blame—based on how much of the Bush agenda he shepherds through. If Bush gets tax, Social

In the Name of National Security Unchecked Presidential Power and the Reynolds Case

Louis Fisher

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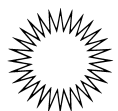
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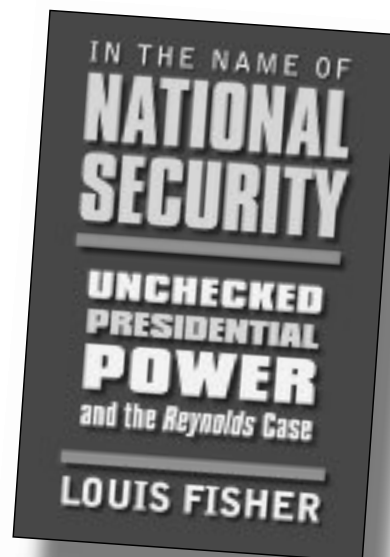
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Security, or tort reform, it will be a feather in Frist's cap."

The Daschle aide also cautioned me, though, not to underplay Frist's own limitations: "There were times that he was just outmaneuvered by Daschle. He just did dumb things and got hosed. That's not because he was too close to the White House or eyeing the presidency, but because he was a bad leader." But the White House didn't help. By alloying his talent with the advice of the crony-minded stewards of the West Wing, Frist shrugged off the independence he needed to help Republicans win important policy victories in the Senate and instead found himself locked in political step with the White House, creating the first Republican leadership in recent memory to pander and flounder so completely and at the same time.

Those failures have left Frist with few allies on either the left or the right. Richard Viguerie, a prominent conservative strategist, told me that conservatives don't see him "as someone who has advanced the conservative cause in the country. ... [H]e's not someone conservatives would or should support for president." When Frist announced that he might—yes—disagree with the president

about government-funded stem-cell research, conservative activists William and Nancy Goldcamp, writing in *The Washington Times*, offered the unlikely criticism that Frist had been "seduced by secular humanism and its veneration of all things scientific. Even if unwittingly, he has shown himself to be unfit for the presidency." A still better barometer of current-era establishment conservatism, the editors of *The National Review* proclaimed, "There are no limits on cloning, either; no limits on research using human fetuses; no limits on the creation of human-animal hybrids. This is mostly the fault of politicians such as Frist."

The miscues and the gaffes that pockmark the Frist era have crippled him. And all this is without mentioning the investigation into allegations of insider trading that he has yet to face. For that reason, November 7 may well be his last meaningful day in Washington. It will stand as a day to celebrate, with quiet relief, how political excesses were unable to salvage a political leader whose skills and ideas were undeserving of such high standing in the first place. **TAP**

Brian Beutler is Washington correspondent for Raw Story.

CHINA

WHO GLOSSED CHINA?

Nicholas Lardy is widely respected. Naturally, he's almost always wrong.

BY EAMONN FINGLETON

AFTER THE ECONOMIST NICHOLAS Lardy visited China in the mid-1980s, he came away distinctly skeptical. While Chinese leaders were gearing up for a huge export drive, Lardy predicted "a marked slowing in China's trade expansion in the years ahead." In particular he questioned Beijing's reported plan to boost total Chinese trade (imports plus exports) to more than \$200 billion by 2000. In a monograph published by the Asia Society in 1987, *China's Entry into the World Economy*, Lardy suggested the target was implausibly high.

In the event, Chinese policy-makers far exceeded their goal. China's exports alone in 2000 came to \$249 billion and its imports came to \$225 billion, making a grand total of \$474 billion, more than double the ambitious target. Economists' predictions are often wrong, of course, not least about East Asia. But Lardy's errors are systematic. For two decades he has almost invariably under-shot in predicting China's economic trajectory. Yet, despite these mistakes, Lardy remains one of Washington's pre-eminent experts on Sino-American economic relations.

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MINNE
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TA

Lardy is an iconic example of a Washington type: a designated expert who owes his prominence not to any record of superior authority but to the fact that he says what powerful lobbying interests want to hear. Lardy is a determined apologist both for the Beijing regime and for a U.S. trade policy that subordinates the long-term interests of the American nation to corporations’ short-term profits. He is prominent in the field not because he is so often right on the issues but in spite of being so frequently wrong.

In two decades, China has gone from being a minor economic player to America’s most visible creditor and the single biggest source of America’s escalating trade imbalance. Administrations of both parties have allowed this to occur because it is convenient for corporations seeking low labor costs. Meanwhile, the U.S. Treasury needs ever-increasing foreign help in funding the trade deficit. As voices of concern are raised, Washington is desperate for expert reassurance. Enter Nicholas Lardy.

In 1995, Lardy moved from the University of Washington, where he directed the School of International Studies, to the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. He was one of Bill Clinton’s academic China advisers. Then in 2003 he became a senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics, and is now their second highest paid employee with a \$230,000-a-year package, not counting the speakers’ fees the China lobby showers on its favorites. In an impressive measure of his visibility, Lardy has been generating new listings in the Nexis news clipping database at the rate of four or five a day. Meanwhile, he ranks alongside two former American ambassadors to China as a vice chairman of the National Committee on United States–China Relations. This committee initiated the so-called “ping-pong diplomacy” of the early 1970s and has acted as principal host to Chinese leaders in the United States ever since.

Lardy has been a reliably soothing voice, minimizing both China as an economic threat and as a nation that retains unfortunate despotic habits. In 1996, for instance, he helpfully downplayed an an-

nounced plan by Beijing to acquire managerial control of Western news agencies in China. Although the principal agencies involved—Reuters and Dow Jones—resisted Beijing’s plain efforts to censor the news, Lardy offered a more innocuous explanation: Beijing was attracted to the media business by the prospect of making large profits! In the end, Reuters and Dow Jones protested so vociferously that Beijing dropped the plan.

In the immediate aftermath of the Tiananmen massacre, Lardy crusaded against the West imposing economic sanctions. He was a principal source for a *New York Times* article in which the Chinese economy was presented as a basket case. The article talked of a terrible Chinese balance-of-payments crisis, capital flight, corruption, a tottering banking system, out-of-control subsidies, runaway inflation, and the threat of an uprising by the poor, implying that top Chinese officials were economic ignoramuses. Lardy said China’s attempted switch to a market economy had stalled and added: “It is hard to see what the sources of growth will be in the next few years.” In fact, in 1989 China’s exports rose 10.5 percent—slow growth by Chinese standards but actually three times Japan’s performance that year. China went on in 1990 to boost its exports by 18.1 percent.

In giving evidence to a Senate subcommittee in 1991, he argued that China’s then-incipient trade surplus was a temporary aberration and would soon be followed by deficits. His testimony helped keep American markets open to China’s one-way trade policy at a time when memories of the Tiananmen Square massacre were still fresh. Yet it was already clear to most China experts that China was closely following the mercantilist approach to trade of the East Asian economic model. China’s trade numbers were headed in the same direction as Japan’s, Taiwan’s, and South Korea’s—up. Contradicting Lardy’s assessment, China’s bilateral surplus with the United States, a mere \$10.4 billion in 1990, rose to \$12.7 billion in 1991, and to \$18.3 billion in 1992. As of 2005, it had hit \$202 billion—the largest trade imbalance be-

tween any two nations in history.

He has consistently served as one of Beijing's most trusted allies in the fight against "China-bashing." In 1994, he declared that China was already "one of the most liberal economies in the developing world," citing its increasing openness to foreign direct investment. More than a decade later, this investment still occurs only on terms allowed by the Beijing government, which limits majority control, demands sensitive technology transfer, tolerates piracy of intellectual property, restricts foreign involvement in the sensitive banking sector, and promotes the use of China as a low-wage corporate outsourcing base.

Perhaps Lardy's greatest service came in helping China's negotiations to join the World Trade Organization. In testimony before Congress in April 2000, he strongly urged that China be granted permanent normal trade relations. "The failure of the U.S. Congress to grant permanent normal trade relations would undermine the position of reformers in China," he declared.

Meanwhile, his wildly erroneous predictions continued. In July last year, for instance, Lardy predicted an overall Chinese trade surplus of \$75 billion to \$80 billion for 2005, less than half of the actual figure of \$161 billion. In commenting to Business Week Online in January 2006, he contrived to sound as if China's trade performance in 2005 somehow reflected weakness rather than strength. Explaining why China's global surplus had risen in 2005, he said: "The big driver isn't on the export side but on the import side. Export growth fell a bit, but import growth was barely half what it was in 2004, so there has been this ballooning of the trade surplus."

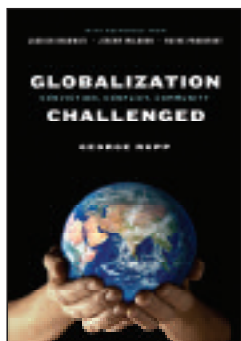
Poor China, you might think. Yes, the growth in imports at 17.6 percent was a little lower than the average for China in recent years. But a mercantilist East Asian nation hardly worries about subpar import growth. The real story was China's exports, which grew by 28.4 percent.

Lardy is hardly alone as a China apologist. However, he has more to answer for than most. As a Chinese-speaking

East Asia specialist, he has long had a front-row seat in witnessing China's successful emulation of the highly aggressive East Asian trade model. But he manages to avoid pointing out the plain fact that East Asian mercantilism works. All the East Asian economic miracles have been driven by savings. The region's savings rates in turn are based on suppressed consumption. And the cornerstone of the region's suppressed consumption policy is mercantilist trade.

Lardy proves the wisdom of the observation of John Kenneth Galbraith that it is better for one's career to be conventionally wrong than unconventionally right. As Pat Choate, author of several books on trade, points out, journalists who cover U.S.-China relations would do well to consider the track record of the experts they quote. **TAP**

Eamonn Fingleton is the author of In Praise of Hard Industries: Why Manufacturing, Not the Information Economy, Is the Key to Future Prosperity (Houghton Mifflin, 1999).



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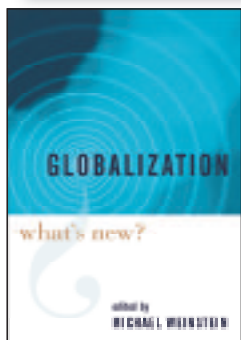
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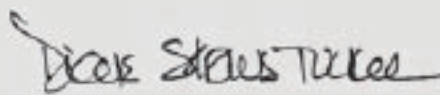
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War in Iraq 2003-??

The Pentagon had no intention of staying in Iraq forever. But the White House won't answer a simple yes-or-no question about permanent bases, and the situation keeps getting worse. So Pentagon brass are planning—and building—for the (very) long haul. **BY SPENCER ACKERMAN**



Counting the Days: A calendar made by a U.S. soldier marking the days until his return home, found on a wall in Saddam's Birthday Palace in Tikrit



Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, is an odd place to discover the possible fate of Iraq. But the fort, a 90-year-old Army base in the midst of suburbia, plays host to the Army's communications command, which has quite a lot invested in that country's future. For the moment, the United States has 140,000 troops stationed in Iraq, where they shall remain,

according to the Bush administration, until the Iraqi government can defend itself against internal subversion and mounting sectarian conflict. Having invested the lives of 2,700 troops, the health of another 20,000, and about half a trillion dollars in that effort, nobody in the United States government is willing to predict when that day will arrive.

But unbeknownst to the press, the public, and most of the Army itself, the clues to an American military occupation of Iraq—that could last for years and even decades to come—can be found inside Fort Monmouth. What is happening within that facility suggests that the White House continues to mislead the world about its ultimate intentions.

In late 2004, U.S. military commanders had a problem to solve. The first Iraqi elections were fast approaching, with nearly all the powerful contenders furiously denouncing the foreign occupation. Yet whoever emerged victorious would inherit an Iraqi security apparatus unable to protect the government against a dangerous insurgency and increasing ethnic and religious violence. So despite all the rhetorical denunciations of America, the victors were unlikely to demand an immediate U.S. withdrawal. Facing total uncertainty about the duration of their stay in Iraq, the U.S. Army did what the U.S. Army does best: It started planning.

According to interviews with senior U.S. commanders with extensive Iraq experience, the Pentagon had never drawn up any plans for a long-term military presence in Iraq. In fact, Donald Rumsfeld actually threatened to fire any officer who took steps to prepare for the aftermath of the invasion, according to a recent statement from a former deputy to General Tommy Franks. Nearly two years after the war began, however, with the insurgency mounting, the Army could no longer afford such dereliction. It started dispensing contracts to defense firms that could build and maintain an infrastructure sufficient to support an indefinite U.S. military presence. At Fort Monmouth, 6,000 miles from Iraq, a communications project was born, called the Central Iraq Microwave System, or CIMS.

The CIMS project has a simple objective: to connect the sprawling U.S. base outside of Baghdad, known as Camp Victory, with the rest of the U.S. bases in Iraq. Three aspects of CIMS are especially noteworthy: First, it's a land-based network of huge communications towers and underground fiber-optic cables, rather than a comparatively costly but temporary system reliant on satellite signals. Second, it won't connect every base

in Iraq to Baghdad—just the bases that the United States plans on keeping far into the future. Finally, its completion will connect Baghdad to the *other* U.S. military installations in the Middle East, from Qatar to Afghanistan.

When a company called Galaxy Scientific Corp., which has a branch near Fort Monmouth and is now part of the defense conglomerate SRA International, received a \$10 million contract to build CIMS in late 2004, savvy defense observers knew exactly what the deal represented. "This is the kind of investment that is reflective of the strategic commitment and intention to continue a military presence in Iraq," Thomas Donnelly, an Iraq hawk at the American Enterprise Institute, told Eli Lake of *The New York Sun*. "This is one of the indicators of an intention to stay, these kinds of communications networks."

For years, the Bush administration has refused to discuss how long the United States will stay in Iraq. More recently, the administration speaks of both a "long war" and just-over-the-horizon troop reductions simultaneously—although last month General John Abizaid, the U.S. commander for Middle East and Southeast Asia, ruled out a draw down until next year—with the emphasis shifting depending on the president's audience and the political moment. On the rare occasions when officials have been pressed, usually in congressional hearings that garner little attention, Bush aides insist there are "no plans" to build permanent bases, a nondenial-denial that focuses attention on unprovable administration intent. But beyond intent is actual construction. That is, the U.S. military has awarded contracts to erect enduring bases at Baghdad, the capital; Balad, in the Sunni center-west; Tallil, in the Shiite center-south; and near Rawah, on the western border with Syria. All this construction is being done not because of any master plan, but in the absence of it. To put it another way, the military has to take steps for a permanent presence in Iraq in order to be responsible—since no one has instructed commanders about when they will leave.

There is a strategic fog surrounding every aspect of the Iraq War. No one knows, in late 2006, whether the mission is to

establish democracy, prevent civil war, or forestall or facilitate Iraq's disintegration. The duration of an unclear mission is necessarily unclear, which forces commanders to prepare for all contingencies. While the Bush administration publicly denies any plan to occupy Iraq forever, its own strategic confusion is increasingly forcing the military to prepare for precisely such an indefinite, open-ended occupation in very concrete ways. The press, for its part, has treated such development as a paranoid left-wing conspiracy theory rather than documented fact, thereby preventing the public from gaining a fuller understanding of what the United States is actually doing in Iraq. And many in the Army are starting to fear the consequences of what the Pentagon is doing: entrenching a quagmire and facilitating a powerful incentive for Defense Department hawks to launch further wars around the Middle East.

The Bush administration and the military obstructed

my ability to report this story at every turn. In early July, I sought to embed with U.S. forces stationed at the long-term bases. It took until late August for word to come back to me: While a story on enduring U.S. military bases in Iraq "is interesting, it does not lend itself to the purpose of the embed program," according to the embedding coordinator of U.S. Central Command. Not only could I not see the bases, I could not learn how far along they are in their development, nor how much that development is costing U.S. taxpayers. For weeks, public-affairs officers at the Pentagon told me they did not even know where I should direct such requests for information. When I finally was directed to an official in Baghdad, Donn Booker of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, he did not return an e-mail seeking comment. Responsible officials at the National Security Council declined interview requests. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's interview coordinator at the State Department did not return my repeated calls. Contractors refused to comment. And an elaborate chain of referral calls, starting with Fort Monmouth's public-affairs officer, led me right back to the

person from whom I initially requested comment. As a result, the reporting that follows largely comes from senior active-duty U.S. military commanders and former Bush administration officials concerned about what is being done in Iraq with absolutely no public scrutiny or even basic acknowledgment.

Unsurprisingly, the Bush administration's responses have been self-serving, incomplete, and deceitful. Early this year, the well-regarded U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad, assured Congress, "We have no goal of establishing permanent bases [in Iraq]." But how does "permanent" differ from "long-term"? If such bases aren't an administration "goal," why is the administration dispensing contracts to build and reinforce them? But the ambassador's answer, however unsatisfying, represented the most forthright acknowledgement by a senior-level official that the question of bases is a real one.

Representatives have had even less luck with Rice. When New Jersey Democrat Jim Sexton asked her the difference between an enduring base and a permanent base at an April hearing, she replied, "The presence in Iraq is for a very clear purpose, and that's to enable Iraqis to be able to govern themselves and to create security forces that can help them do that. I don't think that anybody believes that we really want to be there longer than we have to." A frustrated Sexton asked whether the bases were "permanent or not." She parried, "I would think the people will tell you, we're not seeking permanent bases, really, pretty much anywhere in the world these days." (Except, of course, in Qatar, and in the countries neighboring Afghanistan.) General Abizaid proved more honest during a March House Appropriations subcommittee hearing, when Congressman David Price of North Carolina asked whether he could "make an unequivocal commitment" repudiating permanent U.S. bases in Iraq. "No, sir, I can't," said Abizaid, "primarily because I don't formulate U.S. policy. I advise on U.S. policy. The policy on long-term presence in Iraq hasn't been formulated and I don't imagine that it will emerge until the government of national unity emerges."

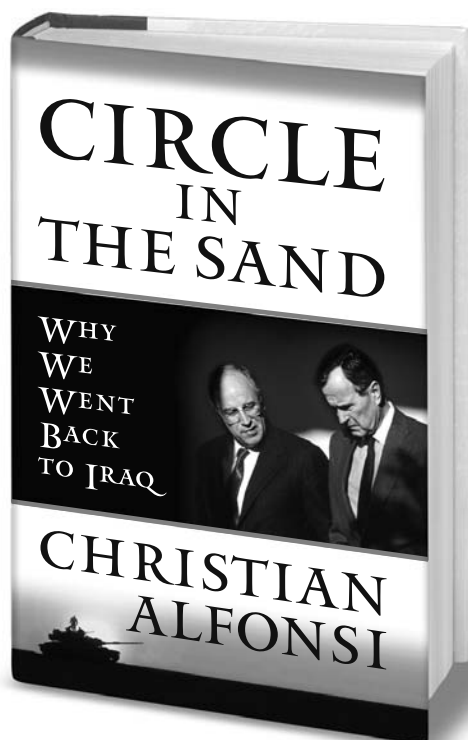
While the administration publicly denies any plan to occupy Iraq forever, the military is preparing for an open-ended occupation in very concrete ways.



Digging in: Building a base at Salah ad Din for the Iraqi Army. The United States is likely building permanent bases of its own.

**“A riveting,
can’t-put-it-down
account of how history
kicks back and
we keep getting it wrong.”**

—BILL MOYERS



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—WALTER LAFEBER, Tisch University Professor, Cornell University



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For Larry Diamond, the silence is maddening. Diamond, a democracy-promotion expert at the Hoover Institution, arrived in Iraq in early 2004 as an adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority, the first U.S. governing agency in Iraq. He accepted the job at the personal request of Rice, his former provost. But Diamond quickly learned that he would have no real input in shaping policy, even to prevent easily foreseeable mistakes. In the very first policy memo Diamond sent to Rice, then the national security adviser, he implored the administration to renounce any long-term presence in Iraq. She never gave him an answer.

“I certainly said it to Condi more than once,” Diamond says. With palpable frustration, he says the question of permanent bases “is like this pillow—you punch it, and the Pentagon won’t confirm, deny or reply. ... No response. ... In that sense, they’re very clever. They don’t defend it, don’t deny it, don’t confirm it. They just ignore it.”

That deliberate silence has had a substantial impact on the U.S. military. According to U.S. commanders who have served in Iraq, there is no piece of paper directing them to construct permanent U.S. bases. Indeed, “if this were planned from the start,” says one senior Army officer, “we wouldn’t have screwed [Iraq] up as badly as we did.” In the absence of top-level administration planning, the Army had to come up with a plan of its own.

Army officers sometimes talk about “BRAC for Iraq.”

The acronym refers to the government’s Base Realignment and Closure review process—undertaken every 10 years to weed out unnecessary military bases in the United States. BRAC for Iraq is designed to get the U.S. military out of the places it doesn’t need to be or where Iraqis won’t tolerate it—“to get out of their faces,” in the words of an Army general—with the long-term intent of consolidating forces in places where senior U.S. commanders believe they must remain in order to keep Iraq from imploding completely.

Speaking not for attribution, one well-respected officer explained to me how BRAC for Iraq works. Drawing troop levels down is a challenging logistical process, in large part because once U.S. troops move into an area they begin heavy construction and bring in a lot of materiel: military vans, large containers, satellite dishes, environmental-control units. Much of what gets built or imported can’t be left to the Iraqis—electricity on U.S. bases, for instance, operates on the American system of voltage, which is totally foreign to the Iraqi system.

The military command in Iraq (known as Multi-National Force-Iraq, or MNF-I) has been planning how this works and will work since early 2005. Last year, the United States ceded control of Saddam Hussein’s old palace in Tikrit, which had been the headquarters of the 1st Brigade, 3rd Army Division, to the Iraqis in an elaborate and well-publicized ceremony. But what happened after that handover illustrates the danger with which planners must contend: Tikrit exploded in sectarian violence as soon as the U.S. withdrew. So not only does the military have to decide what materiel it can take with it out of an occupied area, but it also has to figure out where U.S. troops, whatever their future numbers, can consolidate: Go too far outside the hotspots and MNF-I loses the ability to mass when a conflagration ignites. Stay

Planners have more or less settled on pulling U.S. troops inside four massive bases, located at strategic positions around Iraq, that will garrison them indefinitely.



The Home Front: Constructing the barracks of the Iraqi Army's new base in the hotly contested Salah ad Din province.

too close in the Iraqis' faces and spark the kind of nationalist fury that endangers the lives of American forces and their Iraqi allies.

As a result, planners have more or less settled on pulling U.S. troops inside four massive bases that will garrison them indefinitely. Those bases are located at strategic positions around Iraq, and each serves a particular political objective.

Camp Victory, in Baghdad, provides a jumping-off point to project power into the capital city and to ensure that the Iraqi government, in whatever fashion, stays alive. Fifty miles north and slightly west of Baghdad is a base near the city of Balad, which allows U.S. forces to remain in Anbar province, the inflamed Sunni heartland. Another 150 miles west of Balad is a tiny town called Rawah, near the Syrian border, where U.S. forces began constructing a base last July. The Rawah base is positioned to cut off a major smuggling artery for both foreign jihadists and cash and weaponry coming to the insurgency. (John Hendren of the *Los Angeles Times* described the scene in a July 31, 2005, dispatch: "In the last two weeks, the military has been building structures at the new base and American troops have begun arriving at the facility. The base has been set up far enough from the town so that insurgents seeking to launch mortar and rocket attacks would have to do so from the open desert, where they are more likely to be seen.")

But perhaps the most important long-term facility, even more significant than Camp Victory, is the massive air base at Tallil, 50 miles south of Baghdad. With runways 10,000 feet long, Tallil achieves two American objectives for the price of a single installation. First, it permits access for U.S. troops to the southern Shiite heartland. The second objective is slightly more complicated—and reveals how long, *at a minimum*, the United States will remain in Iraq, despite Bush administration assurances of troop reductions.

"The Iraqi Air Force doesn't exist," notes a senior Army officer. "Yet [airpower] maintains the government in power. It's a good thing that the enemy can't mass in the open. Why is that? Because we can kill them with airpower. We'll need that capacity

for a long time. The nascent Iraqi Air Force isn't going to be ready for a decade. The American Air Force will have to be in Iraq for a long time. That's where Tallil is coming from."

And that's also where BRAC for Iraq is coming from. It represents what military planners, in the absence of guidance from civilian leadership, require in order to support an open-ended mission. For the military, the motivation isn't to maintain an imperial presence. It's simply to do what's prudent.

"The big issue for the services always comes down to dollars and people," says one Army general. "The services are concerned with projections for gradual force reductions that are made and that then don't always come to pass." The painful difference between projections and realities has long been a fact of life for the military services. But it's far from clear whether key decision makers in the Bush White House and Rumsfeld's Pentagon see the ongoing base construction in Iraq as a prudential, if drift-driven, process—or an imperial opportunity in a vital part of the world.

The case against keeping U.S. bases in Iraq is probably best made by Osama bin Laden. "For over seven years, the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples," bin Laden said in his 1998 declaration of jihad. "The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq."

In other words, the longer the United States remains in Iraq, the greater the opportunity, on a number of levels, for al-Qaeda and the jihadist movement. In the most direct sense, the inevitable nationalist backlash to a western invasion provides an excellent opportunity to radicalize outraged Muslims, as well as what the U.S. National Intelligence Council last year called a "training ground" for new jihadis to develop expertise in killing Americans. (This was confirmed by the intelligence community

in a National Intelligence Estimate leaked to *The New York Times* in September, which judged that the occupation of Iraq is a blessing for al-Qaeda.) But in a broader sense, during every moment the United States spends in Iraq, bin Laden's portrait of a rapacious, crusading America comes true before the eyes of the Muslim world. Consider too the enormous drain that the war represents in American blood, treasure, and on the body politic, and turning an open-ended, futile war into a permanent, futile war looks more and more like a terrible idea.

But don't tell that to the Bush administration. "Given that there's no compelling military value to [a permanent U.S. presence in Iraq], and given that we're bleeding because of the stubborn refusal to explain this, then the only reason I can summon for why the president has refused to renounce the bases when

that U.S. officials, and particularly civilian officials, think they're pursuing. It's absurd, and it's profoundly tragic."

That leaves another troubling possibility: to put it bluntly, that the war in Iraq is not the only war in the Middle East envisioned by the Bush administration. That's not to assert there are any imminent plans to launch further invasions—only that among the assumptions of defense planners is the belief that further conflicts necessitating U.S. intervention may quickly emerge, and, therefore, it's better to have a platform in Iraq from which to respond than to have to mass forces from across the globe. This prospect leaves the Army as confused as any ordinary citizen. While we were discussing permanent military bases in Iraq, a senior Army officer asked me, with apparent sincerity, if I knew whether we would invade Iran. Another officer

points out, simply, "the long-term mission envisioned in Iraq—to say nothing of the broader Middle East—is understandably less than clearly defined, as it will depend on the course of events in Iraq. Will, e.g., the mission be strategic oversight? To provide airpower as Iraqis need it? A variety of mission sets are possible." Indeed, when Abizaid addressed the question of permanent bases in his March exchange with Congressman Price, he pointed out the assumptions that guided him: "Clearly, our long-term vision for military presence in the region requires a robust counterterrorist capability. I think all of us need to understand that groups like al-Qaeda and the associated movements are with us for a long time. ... We need to be able to deter the ambitions of an expansionistic Iran."



The Long Haul?: General John Abizaid believes "we need to get out of their faces," one officer says.

the option has been placed and forwarded up there for two years ... is the obvious one: We *are* seeking military bases, and I think it's a scandal," says Diamond. "The whole thing is just jaw-dropping. Nothing else explains this tenacious refusal, and the reactions I've gotten to my objections, except that people in the administration are clinging to this illusion, that at this late date, this goal is still possible, that we can turn this around and convert Iraq to host substantial American military power in the region, and to increase our military power in the region."

Of course, no Bush official consented to discuss the issue for this article, so it's impossible for me to determine whether such illusions persist. Questions continue to be raised within the military about why the administration remains mum when base construction is under way. "You can go from the economic argument, that we're guaranteeing the free flow of oil, but presumably you put gas in your SUV, and you think that's a good thing, too," says a perplexed Army officer. As with most things the United States has done in Iraq, however, such an attempt would likely prove counterproductive, given the overwhelming resentment of America by Iraqis. "In refusing to renounce these permanent military bases, we're promoting precisely the instability that prompts the disruption of the Iraqi oil flow," contends Diamond. "Holding on to this chimera disrupts the security goals

There is a degree of irony to Abizaid's answer. According to a knowledgeable source, the U.S. regional commander in the Middle East has become a convinced opponent of building permanent bases in Iraq. During a recent interview with a congressionally requested commission chaired by former Secretary of State James Baker and former House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Lee Hamilton to offer advice on Iraq, Abizaid urged the panel to come out firmly and loudly against the drift toward permanent bases in its final report. His plea to Baker and Hamilton suggests that Abizaid is seeking a bureaucratic back channel because he faces difficulty in making the case against the bases in his conversations with Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and President Bush.

True to form, U.S. Central Command would not respond to my request for an interview with Abizaid, nor would a spokesman for the secretive Baker-Hamilton Commission return my calls. But an officer who has worked closely with Abizaid considers the above account to be credible. "Having studied in Jordan and having spent a lot of time in the Mideast, General Abizaid clearly appreciates the culture in the region and has always been a leading proponent of the view that we need to get out of their faces and to avoid the dependency syndrome," says the officer. "He has always been a thoughtful proponent of a light footprint,

JOSHUA ROBERS/REUTERS/LANDOV

drawing down wherever possible and not antagonizing the locals because of our presence. And there's a lot to that, especially if you have challenges developing cultural sensitivity in some soldiers and thus create new enemies driving through Baghdad like we own the streets and so on."

Abizaid's advocacy reveals a basic aspect of Army thinking about Iraq. He may not want to remain in Iraq indefinitely, but neither does he want to leave Iraq anytime soon. Measuring how long the U.S. should stay in Iraq is an agonizing question for the Army, more so than for any other U.S. military service. "To the extent the Army thinks about it, it doesn't want to lose a war," says a senior Army officer. "It's got a lot of skin in this game, and it doesn't want to be defeated. I think the deeper strategic thinkers understand that the second- and third-order effects of defeat in Iraq will be really catastrophic for the Army and the nation. The Army wants to win this thing. It's just getting tired. *It's getting tired.*" The officer continues, "We surged for what we thought was the finish line, and it doesn't look like the finish line anymore. They moved it in front of us, and we don't know how far we can sprint." While Bush hints to the public and the press that the finish line is in the near distance, the Army is preparing for a marathon.

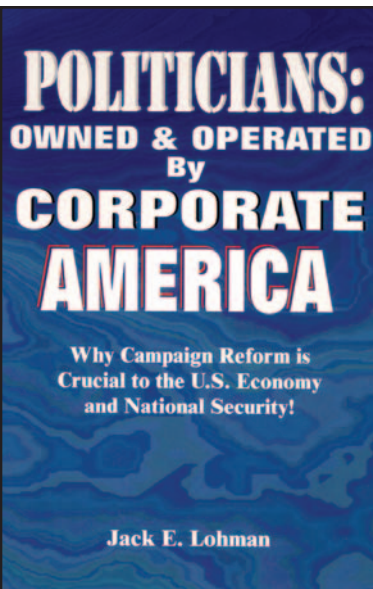
In early September, John Warner, the Virginia

Republican who chairs the Senate Armed Services Committee, frightened the Bush administration by musing that Congress might need to pass another resolution authorizing the expanding mission in Iraq. The Washington press corps regarded his message as a trial balloon. Yet practically no news organization raised the question of permanent bases. This is as curious as it is inexcusable: In a presidential debate, John Kerry explicitly challenged Bush to renounce permanent bases. But Bush has never faced any pressure to do so, either during the campaign or after the election.

"It baffles me," says Diamond. "Why is the White House press corps not confronting the president, saying, 'Mr. President, are we seeking permanent military bases in Iraq or not, and if not, why not take the issue off the table?' It's appalling. It's no less a scandal that the press has failed to pin the administration down on this, and the administration has failed to come clean to the American people as we bleed and die there." Other news organizations have rejected stories about permanent American bases in Iraq—including this one—apparently out of fear of seeming conspiratorial.

The Bush administration has exploited that fear masterfully. Not a single senator or representative who voted for the war ever voted to authorize a decades-long U.S. presence in Iraq. The public, which has decisively turned against the war, wants to end the occupation, not expand it. The military wonders how long it can sustain itself in Iraq. The Iraqi people obviously want all foreign troops to leave, either immediately or as soon as possible. The only people who desire an extended stay in Iraq are those who are safely insulated from its consequences. And, for all the talk about a weakened Bush administration, they have proven time and again that they can deceive their way into getting what they want, and that few will stand in their way. **TAP**

Spencer Ackerman is associate editor of The New Republic.



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We Answer to the

BY BRUCE ACKERMAN AND TODD GITLIN

AS RIGHT-WING POLITICIANS AND PUNDITS CALL us stooges for Osama bin Laden, Tony Judt charges, in a widely discussed and heatedly debated essay in the *London Review of Books*, that American liberals—without distinction—have “acquiesced in President Bush’s catastrophic foreign policy.” Both claims are nonsense on stilts.

Clearly this is a moment for liberals to define ourselves. The important truth is that most liberals, including the undersigned, have stayed our course throughout these grim five years. We have consistently and publicly repudiated the ruinous policies of the Bush administration, and our diagnosis, alas, has been vindicated by events. The Bush debacle is a direct consequence of its repudiation of liberal principles. And if the country is to recover, we should begin by restating these principles.

WE HAVE ALL OPPOSED THE IRAQ WAR AS ILLEGAL, unwise, and destructive of America’s moral standing. This war fueled, and continues to fuel, jihadis whose commitment to horrific, unjustifiable violence was amply demonstrated by the September 11 attacks as well as the massacres in Spain, Indonesia, Tunisia, Great Britain, and elsewhere. Rather than making us safer, the Iraq War has endangered the common security of Americans and our allies.

We believe that the state of Israel has the fundamental right to exist, free of military assault, within secure borders close to those of 1967, and that the U.S. government has a special responsibility toward achieving a lasting Middle East peace. But the Bush administration has defaulted. It has failed to pursue a steady and constructive course. It has discouraged the prospects for an honorable Israeli-Palestinian settlement. It has encouraged Israel’s disproportionate attacks in Lebanon after the Hezbollah incursions, resulting in vast destruction of civilian life and property.

Make no mistake: We believe that the use of force can, at times, be justified. We supported the use of American force, together with our allies, in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. But war must remain a last resort. The Bush administration’s emphatic reliance on military intervention is illegitimate and counterproductive. It creates unnecessary enemies, degrades the national defense, distracts from actual dangers, and ignores the imperative necessity of building an international order that peacefully addresses the aspirations of rising powers in Asia and Latin America.

The misapplication of military power also imperils American freedom at home. The president claims au-

thority, as commander in chief, to throw American citizens into military prison for years on end without any hearing, civil or military, that would allow them to confront the charges against them. He claims the power to wiretap Americans’ conversations without warrants, in direct violation of congressional commands. These usurpations presage what are likely to be even more drastic measures if another attack takes place on American soil.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT IS UNCONSTITUTIONALLY seizing power on other fronts. He seeks to liberate himself from the rule of law by issuing hundreds of “signing statements” asserting, with unprecedented sweep and aggressiveness, his right to ignore congressional control. Such contempt for the people’s representatives verges on monarchical pretension.

The administration’s politics of panic diverts attention from pressing questions of social justice and environmental survival. The president remorselessly seeks to undermine the principle of progressive taxation. Under cover of patriotism, he promotes vast tax cuts to the rich at the expense of policies that strengthen the common ties that bind us together as a community.

We reaffirm the great principle of liberalism: that every citizen is entitled by right to the elementary means to a good life. We believe passionately that societies should afford their citizens equal treatment under the law—regardless of accidents of birth,

Is it really true that liberal intellectuals have been quiescent these past five-plus years? It hasn’t been true—and it surely isn’t as of now.

race, sex, property, religion, ethnic identification, or sexual disposition. We want to redirect debate to the central questions of concern to ordinary Americans—their rights to housing, affordable health care, equal opportunity for employment, and fair wages, as well as physical security and a sustainable environment for ourselves and future generations. Instead of securing these

principles, the president and his party view the suppression of votes indulgently and propose new requirements for voting that will make it still harder for the poor and the elderly to exercise their democratic rights.

The administration’s denial of reality reaches a delusional peak in its refusal to acknowledge basic science describing the massive climate change now under way. Against the advice of all serious experts, the government has grossly failed in its responsibility to our descendants. It has consistently sought to undermine the Kyoto treaty and refused to encourage energy conservation. We insist on a clean break with this shameful record. Our government should be taking the lead in reducing green-

Name of Liberals

house gases, recognizing our responsibilities as the world's leading polluter. We should be investing massively in energy sources that carry out a commitment to environmental stewardship and help restore our manufacturing base at the same time.

The administration's contempt for science is of a piece with its general disdain for reason—a prejudice that any modern society ought to have left behind. Whether confronting scientific research, evolution, birth control, foreign policy, drug pricing, or the manner in which it makes decisions, the Bush administration has defied evidence and logic, sabotaging its own professional civil servants. It refuses serious consultation with experts and critics. It acts secretly, in defiance of the powers of Congress. It refuses to identify those whose advice it solicits, even concealing the names of the vice president's staff. It stifles civil servants attempting to do their jobs. It appoints cronies whose political loyalty cannot compensate for their incompetence. When challenged, it responds with lies and distortions.

REASON IS INDISPENSABLE TO DEMOCRATIC SELF-government. This self-evident truth was a fundamental commitment of our Founding Fathers, who believed it was entirely compatible with every American's First Amendment right to the free exercise of religion. When debating policy in the public square, our government should base its laws on grounds that can be accepted by people regardless of their religious beliefs. Public commitment to reason and evidence is the bedrock of a pluralist democracy. Nevertheless, it has been eroded by the present administration in an ongoing campaign to pandor to its hard right wing.

This government's failures to respect the process of public reason have generated predictable consequences—none of them good. The Bush administration has failed to protect its citizens from disaster—from foreign enemies on September 11, 2001, and from the hurricane and flood that afflicted the Gulf Coast in 2005. It has driven the war in Iraq to an impasse. It is incapable of presenting a plausible strategy to bring our military intervention to a tenable conclusion.

We insist that America be defended vigorously against its real enemies—the radical Islamists who organize to attack us. But security does not require torture or the rejection of basic guarantees of due process. To the contrary, this administration's lawless conduct and its violations of the Geneva Conventions only damage our moral standing and our ability to combat the appeals of violent ideologues. By defending torture, the Bush administration engages in precisely the kind of ethical relativism that it purports to condemn. Meanwhile, it refuses to confront its responsibility for the human-rights violations at Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo, and elsewhere. Having failed to plan for obvious contingencies, it has

scapegoated low-level military personnel when it should be identifying and punishing broader command failures.

We refuse to confine our criticisms to personalities. We believe that the abuses of power that have been commonplace under Bush's rule must be laid not only at his door—and the vice president's—but at the doors of a conservative movement that has, for decades, undermined government's ability to act reasonably and effectively for the common good.

WE LOVE THIS COUNTRY. BUT TRUE PATRIOTISM DOES not consist of bravado or calumny. It resides in faithfulness to our great constitutional ideals. We are a republic, not a monarchy. We believe in the rule of law, not secret prisons. We insist on justice for all, not privilege for the few. In repudiating these American ideals, the Bush administration disgraces America and damages our claim to democratic leadership in the larger world.

It will take hard work to undo this damage. It will take more than defeating the hard-line right at the polls. We must engage in large acts of political imagination and inspire a new generation to take up liberal principles and adapt them inventively in a new century. **TAP**

Bruce Ackerman and Todd Gitlin

Additional signatories:

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What Lies Beneath

BY JOSHUA KURLANTZICK ILLUSTRATION BY BRIAN HUBBLE

Some oil companies boast about their commitment to fighting global warming. But as the Arctic heats up, these same companies are racing to drill in newly melted waters. The rush to exploit the melting ice cap is on.

JOERN SKOV NIELSEN SURELY QUALIFIES AS ONE OF the more obscure government ministers in the world. Head of Greenland's Bureau of Minerals and Petroleum, he operates out of an office in Nuuk, capital of Greenland, a semiautonomous region of Denmark with fewer than 60,000 people living on a landmass that covers more than 800,000 square miles. In summer, Nuuk resembles a small Midwestern suburb, its low-lying ranch-style buildings spread across a wide plain and painted in stark primary colors, with only the occasional chunky office building breaking the town's low skyline. In winter, much of the town shuts down, bathed in darkness and battered by fierce storms.

But obscure Greenland also sits in the crosshairs of the global warming industry. This summer more than 15 energy companies showed up at Nielsen's door. They arrived after Greenland called for a meeting to discuss potential exploration off its west coast, where melting ice has opened up new offshore areas—and where exploratory wells would be sunk right in the Bay of Disko Bugt, which contains an ecologically sensitive United Nations World Heritage Site. "We received a large number of applications—almost all of the [oil] majors," says Skov Nielsen. "It's definitely helping that the area around Greenland is warming and the sea ice coverage is a lot less."

And there's the rub. In recent years, the oil industry has been trying to get on the right side of global warming. Writing in the *Financial Times* earlier this year, Royal Dutch Shell Chief Executive Jeroen van der Veer sounded more like Rachel Carson than the head of a giant company that makes its money pulling

fossil fuels out of the earth. "Many scientists agree that emissions from human activities are changing our climate," van der Veer admitted. "The challenge is to develop technology that can fuel growth without environmental degradation." In its 2005 Sustainability Report, his company vowed to limit its greenhouse gas emissions, ramp up its alternative energy programs like solar and wind power, and work closely with conservation organizations to ensure that Shell's projects support biodiversity.

ConocoPhillips, BP, and other oil giants have joined the effort. (The holdout is ExxonMobil, which still spends corporate cash promoting anti-global warming advocates.) In recent years, BP has promoted a sophisticated, multimillion-dollar advertising campaign entitled "Beyond Petroleum" in which it boasted that it would start "a journey that will take a world's expectations of energy beyond what anyone can see today." The company even changed its name from British Petroleum to BP and adopted a new logo—a cuddly green, yellow, and white sunburst. "We take the problem of climate change very seriously," BP chief executive officer Lord John Browne told German reporters this year. BP, the first oil company to acknowledge the seriousness of global warming, also has drastically ramped up its alternative energy programs. In November 2005, it announced plans to spend \$8 billion over a decade and claims that it has slashed its own emissions of greenhouse gases to 10 percent below its 1990 levels. In Britain, BP has even developed a scheme to help drivers find ways to reduce carbon emissions so that their driving habits become "carbon neutral."

Yet even as the oil giants show off their green stripes, they have quietly pursued a strategy that works against the environmental tide: buying up rights to explore Arctic and sub-Arctic lands soon-to-be exposed as global warming melts the polar ice. Such territories likely hold vast new stocks of oil, gas, and minerals, and the oil companies and other energy and mining interests are investing heavily in the warmer globe. Last year, Shell purchased some \$44 million worth of leases to explore for oil in the Beaufort Sea, a pristine ocean off the northern coast of Alaska, and plans to move in a rig to begin exploration. ConocoPhillips, too, saw the opportunity, buying 13 Beaufort Sea leases last year.

BP "obviously [has] made this part of their strategy, to look at how the climate change will benefit them," says Lawson Brigham of the U.S. Arctic Research Commission in Alaska, a congression-



ally mandated organization. “Conoco-Phillips’ research and development department is looking at the ice melt and making long-term plans.” “Shell has put an office together here in Anchorage with a huge support staff in Houston,” agrees one Alaska oil consultant. “You see how quickly they are staffing up here and you see the level of their interest” in the Beaufort Sea. According to a 2001 study by the United Nations Environment Programme, by 2050 most of the Arctic may be impacted by oil, gas, mining, and other industrial development.

This race for riches, in regions of America, Canada, Russia, Norway, and Greenland above or near the Arctic Circle, could destroy the world’s most pristine environments, all the while speeding up global warming by forestalling a transition away from oil and by adding carbon dioxide emissions as companies prospect and refine crude petroleum. But few governments seem to care. Instead, the United States and other nations have quietly promoted Arctic exploitation. “When we’ve been talking about climate change it’s with concern, but we’re talking about opportunity,” George Newton, former head of the Arctic Research Commission, told a panel at the World Economic Forum this year. In other words, forget about global warming. Welcome to the global warming industry.

THE CHUKCHI, A FRIGID, 225,000-SQUARE-MILE SEA north of the Bering Strait and east of Siberia, makes even remote parts of Alaska look like Times Square. The few boats sailing its black, deep waters travel days without seeing anything except an occasional walrus or ringed seal; in winter, darkness covers much of the sea 24 hours a day. The Chukchi is navigable only during summer months, and even then ships sometimes have to zigzag, in thick fog, between jagged ice floes the size of houses. “In the Chukchi, you feel like you could be on the moon,” says Ken Boyd, former director of the oil and gas division of Alaska’s Department of Natural Resources.

But even the Chukchi is becoming less remote. According to the 2004 Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, a comprehensive study of the region produced by hundreds of scientists, the Arctic is heating up twice as fast as the rest of the globe; half the Arctic ice cap has vanished over the past five decades. Warming is projected to cause the near total melting of perennial sea ice later this century. Another study, by NASA, found that Arctic ice was melting even faster than previously thought, and that the most melting occurred in the Chukchi and Beaufort seas.

But even while they wring their hands over global warming, many companies and governments realize the warming will drastically improve their chances for polar profit. Oil and gas companies could set up offshore drilling operations, shipping firms

could consider new routes shorter than the Panama and Suez canals, and mining firms could drill into regions no longer covered in permanent ice. “There’s enormous profit potential in this,” says one prominent polar expert, adding that the oil and gas companies have started snapping up scientists to run models on Arctic potential in a warmer climate.

The *Prospect* contacted BP and Shell and ConocoPhillips several times for this article. Shell responded and said no one was available for comment. A BP spokesperson, commenting on how warmer Arctic temperatures may allow for more oil and gas drilling and shipping, replied that it may become possible, that “no one knows because it hasn’t been tried,” and that “the first issue to address is access—should or could Arctic regions be opened to exploration? This is a matter for politicians to decide, not oil companies, so I’ll leave it to them.”

But the oil companies aren’t waiting: Indeed, they have begun amassing leases in regions that will open up as more ice melts. In Norway, Norwegian oil giant Statoil is pouring an estimated \$9 billion into developing a massive project called Snohvit, which will pipe natural gas from the melting Barents Sea. This spring the Norwegian government disclosed that companies will be granted new exploration licenses for the Barents, attracting corporations ranging from Texas-based Hunt Oil to Japanese petroleum giant Mitsubishi. According to documents from the U.S. Interior Department’s Minerals Management Service, 15 firms have shown a desire to drill in the American part of the Beaufort. In Canada, exploration giant Devon Energy Corp. has launched a massive exploration project in the Canadian part of the Beaufort Sea, spending about \$50 million on one well alone. Other oil companies have bid about \$400 million in exploration licenses for the Beaufort from the Canadian government.

To carry the gas, the petroleum industry has mapped out a potential pipeline through the Canadian north that would require one of the largest infrastructure investments in Canadian history. “You can’t book a room in Inuvik,” says Robert Huebert, an Arctic expert at the University of Calgary, about the gateway town to the Beaufort Sea. “They’re all being taken up by the energy companies.” Energy firms, Huebert says, are even buying up rights to the most obscure areas of Canada, like Melville Island, an uninhabited Arctic island so far north it has almost no vegetation.

A project in Russia dwarfs even this exploration race. Geologists believe a region called Shtokman, in the Russian part of the Barents Sea, may hold one of the biggest offshore gas reservoirs on earth. Early 2005, when Russian gas company Gazprom picked five finalists to develop the field, the world’s petroleum giants, like ConocoPhillips and Chevron, went all out to woo the Russians. Some of the oil companies reportedly even ran advertisements



on television channels owned by Gazprom, essentially putting money right into the pocket of the Russian company.

Big mining companies, which have also made commitments to fighting global warming, envision similar opportunities in warming polar regions. Mining giants already have built three major diamond mines in the Canadian north. And the *Prospect* obtained documents and speeches confirming that in 2004 Nunavut, one of Canada's northern territories, issued some 1,500 more permits for mining exploration—together the Northwest Territories and Nunavut handed mining firms such as global giants DeBeers and BHP Billiton some 100,000 square miles of area to prospect. "Every square inch [of the north] is going to be opened to diamonds, sapphires, gold," Michael Miltenberger, minister of natural resources in Canada's Northwest Territories, said last year in an interview. Even the Antarctic, historically protected by an international treaty banning mining, could be game down the road. Antarctica is believed to contain large deposits of coal, iron, and probably oil and gas, and at times when commodity prices skyrocket, countries have reconsidered the ban.

There is no doubt that there is a lot to be gained, or lost, beneath the frozen areas that global warming will uncover. The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that the Arctic contains roughly 25 percent of all the globe's untapped petroleum and gas reserves. Norway's Barents Sea alone has an estimated more than two billion untapped barrels of oil; Alaska's offshore regions could contain some 25 billion barrels, which at \$60 a barrel, would make Alaska's oil worth \$1.5 trillion; and Russia boasts the world's largest quantities of untapped natural gas. (The world consumes about 36 billion barrels of oil a year, according to 2003 figures.)

Meanwhile, ice melt could open to commercial shipping the Northwest Passage, in northern Canada, and the Northern Sea Route, across the length of Siberia. (According to a report by the Canadian military, the Northwest Passage could become open to summertime shipping within a decade.) Using the Northwest Passage could save companies transporting goods between Shanghai and Rotterdam nearly \$600,000 per trip over a voyage through the Suez Canal, according to an analysis by Emmanuel Guy, a shipping researcher at the University of Quebec. It's not surprising, then, that companies cannot resist the poles.

EARLY ON MARCH 2, A TYPICALLY FRIGID ARCTIC MORNING, a man working near the BP oil operations on the North Slope of Alaska smelled a strong odor of petroleum. He rushed to tell his bosses, who soon found that a pipeline had been leaking for an estimated five days. Before workers closed the pipeline and started vacuuming and shoveling up spilled petroleum, some 200,000 gallons of crude oil had spread onto the North Slope ice, sinking into the fragile tundra beneath.

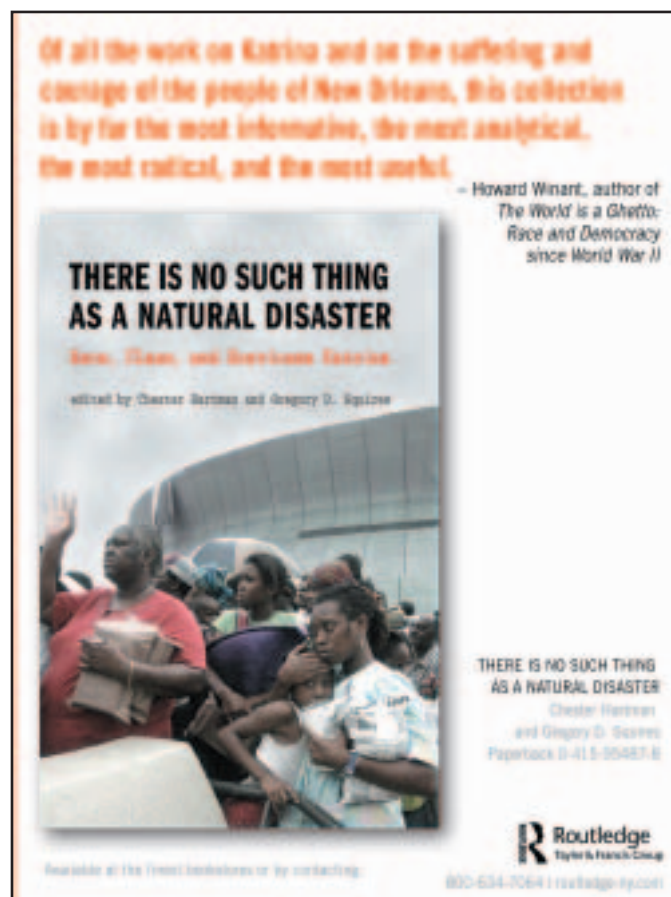
BP claims the spill was an isolated and quickly resolved event. But the *Prospect* found numerous examples of mismanagement

by BP and other oil companies in cold weather zones, suggesting they may not be prepared to explore in even colder, icier, and more remote Arctic regions. Operating in the Arctic is not easy. Snow and ice rust and batter pipes, rigs, and other oil operations, increasing the chance of accidents and spills. And when spills do happen, they are more difficult to access than in temperate zones, making cleanup much harder.

In the case of the pipeline that sprung a leak in March, BP had not done a comprehensive check for corrosion in nearly a decade. According to Alaska oil expert Richard Fineberg, "Over the last decade BP has consistently argued for less stringent leak detection requirements." Facing looser rules from the state and federal governments, BP abandoned regular checks and cut costs without regard to safety, according to an internal complaint filed by employees in 2004. The company has "a difficult time maintaining a full component of trained [spill] responders," according to a 2001 company study. Two years before that, 77 BP workers in Alaska had sent a letter to company chairman Lord Browne warning that a major worker-related accident was all but inevitable. "When will the body count, capital destruction, and loss of production be enough to halt this dead-end course?" the workers asked.

Not only drilling but also cleanup is tougher in the Arctic. The Exxon Valdez spill took place in subarctic Alaskan waters. "With the Exxon Valdez [spill], you could utilize a port to launch a cleanup operation," says Colonel Pierre LeBlanc of Canadian Diamond Consulting, an expert on the polar regions. By comparison, he says, explorers in the upper-Arctic could be a thousand

Canada's northern territories have given giant global mining firms some 100,000 square miles of area in which to prospect.





Crude Awakening: A ConocoPhillips drilling rig in Alaska

miles from the nearest major port and in areas still laden with huge blocks of ice, making cleanup nearly impossible. (The U.S. Arctic Research Commission admits, “There is a substantial dearth of knowledge about oil spills in Arctic conditions.”) Arctic flora and fauna also take longer to recover from a spill since they grow more slowly than southern animals and plants. Even the oil companies probably realize they do not know how to handle Arctic spills. At a recent forum, Alaskan native leader Robert Thompson asked Shell representatives point-blank how they would handle a spill in the far northern waters. “They say they need to do more computer modeling to think about that,” Thompson says.

Environmental groups have documented how exploration in the Barents could destroy crucial spawning grounds for many species of fish, drilling offshore in the Alaskan Arctic could ruin some of the world’s biggest wild salmon runs and threaten stocks of bowhead whales, and mining in Arctic Canada has already created abandoned sites full of trash, old equipment, rotting batteries, and other debris. Even native Inuit groups that historically have supported onshore exploration, in areas like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), oppose drilling in the coldest, most remote Arctic seas, where any spill could be catastrophic and exploration could scare away whales, the lifeblood of Inuit culture. “They have no evidence this [offshore development] is safe,” says Karl Francis, a special assistant to the city council of Kaktovik, an Inuit village in northern Alaska that has backed drilling in ANWR. “We get no idea of what the impacts will be.” He says Shell representatives “studiously avoided talking to me.”

Greater exploration in the north not only raises the potential for spills, it actually adds to global warming. After all, drilling for oil and gas is a major source of methane, which the Environmental Protection Agency calls a “potent greenhouse gas.” A leading study estimated that the oil fields in northern Alaska emit some 24,000 tons of methane every year. It is a perfect circle. Oil and gas production facilities spit out powerful greenhouse gases. Those gases warm the earth, melting ice and making Arctic exploration easier.

IT IS POSSIBLE TO DRILL FOR OIL WITHOUT RUINING THE surrounding areas. But in the Arctic areas, at least, there’s little incentive. For one thing, the Arctic lies so far from population centers, and flights to the north can cost thousands of dollars, so few environmental organizations have the money to spend much time monitoring oil and gas exploration in polar regions. “For environmental groups to operate in the Arctic is very expensive, so it’s hard for them to document” problems, says LeBlanc. And though some native organizations complain about exploration, energy and mining companies have been able to work them into the system: Shell recently hired the Inuit former mayor of Alaska’s North Slope Borough as its community affairs manager. “Someone from Shell seems to have concluded that they can just buy their way into the region, by hiring native people,” says Francis.

Worse, the region’s governments are contributing to the problem, with the United States standing as the worst offender. Although the Clinton administration did not focus on the Arctic, it at least bought into the idea of climate change as a serious global problem. The Bush administration, by contrast, has simply tried to shut down any concerns. In 2004, scientists and representatives from all of the Arctic nations were completing the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA), which found that polar regions were rapidly warming. The White House tried to muzzle the most alarming parts and stop the report from making recommendations on how to fight global warming. “The U.S. weakened the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment document,” says Sheila Watt-Cloutier, former chair of a leading Inuit organization who participated in negotiations about the assessment. “It was worse than pulling teeth ... to ensure consensus that the ACIA wouldn’t just be a scientific document but would have ideas on how to deal with greenhouse gases.” Even Russia, not known for playing

nice in international organizations, was easier to deal with than the United States, she says.

Exploration actually adds to warming by producing methane, which makes the earth still warmer—which in turn makes exploration easier.

One year later, the U.S. Arctic Research Commission published its biennial goals and objectives. Although it listed ways to combat environmental destruction in the Arctic, another goal was figuring out, “Can we exploit these changes in the Arctic Ocean for our benefit?”

The same year, the Interior Department’s assistant director for science and technology policy, Indur Goklany, produced a paper suggesting that there might be upsides to global warming. “Strictly from the perspective of human well-being, the richest-but-warmest world ... would probably be superior,” Goklany argued.

More than ignoring threats, the Bush administration, and the pro-drilling Alaska state government, actively promote the global warming industry. “The federal government is driving hard to develop oil and gas, and they don’t want any local opposition,” says Francis, the Kaktovik policy-maker. “Now there’s just a different approach from the oil companies—a harder-edged approach, because they don’t need to worry so much about government regulation.” To support exploration in farthest-north

Alaska, the Department of Interior is offering oil and gas giants waivers on the royalty fees they are supposed to pay on their finds, even though ConocoPhillips and BP reported net profits of \$5.18 billion and \$7.3 billion, respectively, in the second quarter of 2006. According to several Alaska sources, leases have been offered without a substantial environmental impact study.

Meanwhile, the White House has placed oil and gas loyalists in key Arctic-oriented positions. This spring, the administration picked a new head of the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), which is supposed to conduct unbiased scientific research, including studies of polar regions. For the job, the White House selected Mark Myers, who previously worked for a part of BP. In the history of USGS, Myers was the first director in five decades not to come from within the Geological Service or from a university. "Putting someone in with strictly an oil and gas background could be a move toward moving the agency towards oil and gas interests," the previous USGS head, Charles Groat, told reporters in July.

Meanwhile, U.S. envoys to Oslo have aggressively pushed Norway to explore in its Arctic region, which would allow Norway to ship petroleum to America. When the new U.S. ambassador, Benson Whitney, arrived in Norway last January, he quickly hustled up to the north, where he said of the Barents Sea, "This region is of great significance to the United States." Perhaps not coincidentally, the Bush administration chose remote northern Norway, rather than capitals like Oslo or Stockholm, as the site of its first "American Corner" in Scandinavia, a public diplomacy effort de-

signed to promote positive local opinion toward the United States.

Other governments are not blameless. Denmark, Canada, and Russia have scrambled to demonstrate they should control resource-rich international Arctic waters. The Danes have funded an expedition to the North Pole to stake their demands, and Russia has sent a document to the United Nations generously outlining its claims. A consortium of Canadian research groups calculates that Ottawa offers oil and gas companies more than \$1 billion in tax breaks annually. The Canadian government's own Department of Indian and Northern Affairs admits, in internal documents, that backers of the northern gas pipeline have not fully assessed its potential impact on the environment and local people. And Peggy Holroyd, an environmental policy analyst at Canada's Pembina Institute, a research organization, says Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper visited Yellowknife advocating for the potential pipeline, even though the government is supposed to wait for environmental hearings before deciding whether to back it.

Of course, government regulation would be a good start. But so would more honesty from oil, gas, and mining companies about how they plan to explore in the Arctic. It turns out, BP could lead a journey that will take the "world's expectations of energy beyond what anyone can see today" to polar regions of the globe no one has ever seen. But putting that in a promotional ad would be one truth too inconvenient to admit. **TAP**

Joshua Kurlantsick is a Prospect senior correspondent.

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The Road to Good Jobs

BY ROBERT KUTTNER

AMERICA NEEDS MORE GOOD JOBS AT GOOD WAGES. The combination of deregulation, global low-wage competition, and the attack on unions has reduced the supply of reliable jobs with decent wages, benefits, and career prospects. This shift comes at a time when other

social supports have been cut. Any serious student of this subject knows two things. First, there is no single silver bullet. Second, any good jobs strategy needs to be anchored in politics—and a very different politics than the dominant one.

With a different politics, we could have a national strategy of investment in new technologies, such as energy-sufficiency, promoting not just clean-energy security but good domestic jobs. We could restore the right of workers to bargain collectively, and unions could again lead the way to a society of decent breadwinner wages. We could decide that all human-service jobs financed with public funds would be not low-wage, high-turnover jobs, but professions that were part of career tracks with decent wages. We could use the leverage of public outlay to create good, permanent private-sector jobs.

We could change the rules of the trading system so that trade did not produce a race to the bottom for workers here and overseas. We could link education and training strategies to actual rather than hypothetical good jobs, with what our Scandinavian friends call an active labor market policy. We could run our economy at or near full employment. We could have comprehensive immigration reform, with immigrants on the road to full citizenship rather than being a reserve low-wage army with no labor or civic rights.

The recent structural changes in the global economy, reducing labor's bargaining power and lowering labor costs for

multinational corporations, are not some spontaneous result of technological changes or of foreign trade per se. Rather, they are the result of a specific brand of globalization that privileges property rights, while deliberately undercutting the social and labor rights that anchor the managed form of capitalism that has produced greater security and equality in most of the wealthy democracies.

Some of what America needs to promote development of good jobs is at odds with the current rules of the international trading system, most of them promoted by the U.S. government.

For instance, if we embarked on an Apollo-scale program using public investment to create a new high-tech renewable energy industry that would produce exports as well as good domestic jobs, this strategy could well be challenged as illegal under the World Trade Organization.

At issue is not just the prevailing politics, but also the dominant paradigm of minimal government. A key question is how education and training interact with other necessary public policies. A better-educated, more highly skilled workforce is certainly part of the solution, but not the whole remedy. As all three authors of the following articles explain in different ways, simply commending more education

paints with too broad a brush. The practical question is: What kind of education and training will rendezvous with what kind of jobs? Otherwise, a better-educated workforce will still find itself in an economy that fails to adequately reward skills. America does need more people to get degrees in math and science, so that these good jobs and the industries they support go to Americans rather than moving overseas. And we do need to make sure that young people finish high school well prepared for further learning. But improved human capital, by itself, doesn't necessarily alter the kinds of jobs the economy offers workers. What else do we need to do?

THE THREE ARTICLES THAT FOLLOW illuminate this question, and begin an ongoing series on good jobs that will appear over the next year. Joan Fitzgerald, author of the recent book, *Moving Up in the New Economy*, begins by looking at paths to better jobs in human services, as well as the role of economic development. Harold Meyerson, our longtime senior writer on labor and the *Prospect's* acting executive editor, looks at the role of unions and community groups in promoting good jobs via community benefits agreements. Princeton economist and former

Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Blinder examines the offshoring threat to service as well as manufacturing jobs, and strategies for keeping good jobs at home. Professor Blinder was one of the first economists to challenge the orthodox view that trade has a trivial effect on wages and employment.

Upcoming articles will include a roundtable on the role of education as well as pieces on new rules for the trading system, on immigrant workers, and on other economic development strategies. We thank the Ford Foundation for supporting our work on good jobs and economic development, and The Atlantic Philanthropies for supporting our work on immigration. **TAP**

*An ongoing
American Prospect
series of articles on
different strategies
to create more good
jobs for Americans*



Getting Serious About Good Jobs

We need to link training, job structuring, and economic development.

BY JOAN FITZGERALD

HOW TO GENERATE MORE GOOD jobs for Americans? Conventionally, policy-makers and economists give great weight to two strategies—education and economic development. Presumably, a better educated workforce will command higher pay. And economic development will generate more jobs, one hopes good jobs. But there are limits to what these two approaches can accomplish, given how they are practiced through flawed government policies in the face of new global conditions.

Education per se no longer guarantees good jobs. There is a glut of liberal arts graduates. Global trade has put tens of millions of American workers, however well-trained, into direct competition with low-paid Asian and other third-world workers. In many occupations, increased training makes sense only if we upgrade the character of the jobs. Otherwise, a nurse aide or day-care worker can study more about her craft, but still earn dismal wages. America in fact had a much more equal distribution of income half a century ago when only half of American adults had a high school diploma, and

fewer than 10 percent attended college.

As for economic development, we do need a dramatic new effort to promote new domestic technologies that offer good jobs. But currently, the main federal economic-development policy is tax breaks, many of them economically wasteful and inefficient. And at the state and local level, a huge amount of money is spent in a zero-sum game to lure employers to locate or relocate, but not to stimulate genuinely new technologies and well-paid jobs.

A lot of local development activity—building stadiums, financing casinos, attracting Wal-Marts—produces few good jobs other than the initial construction jobs. The roughly \$50 billion in public funds given away annually by cities and states to corporations in tax abatements and other subsidies often underwrites activity that would have taken place anyway. We do need to link economic development with a better trained and compensated workforce, but that will require a very different set of development policies.

In some cases the most efficient route to good jobs is simply to raise pay directly, with higher minimum wages and stronger

unions. The federal minimum wage has not been raised since 1997. Nineteen states have set or will set higher minimum wages; and since Baltimore's living wage law passed in 1994, 25 cities—including Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco—have enacted similar laws. As we shall see, much of America's "good-jobs" strategy today is states, localities, foundations, and nonprofits heroically, and inadequately, trying to make up for nonexistent or negative national policy.

LINKING EDUCATION AND REWARD: THE STRANGE CASE OF NURSING

No job category better illustrates the complex relationship between education, job definition, and economic development better than nursing. With an average salary of \$56,888, registered nursing should be an attractive occupation. But the United States had about 126,000 nursing vacancies last year. And the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that the shortfall could go as high as 800,000 by 2020. Meanwhile, 500,000 RNs have left the profession and are working in other jobs. Why are these seemingly good jobs going unfilled?

There are two sides to the problem—more nurses are leaving the profession and fewer people are entering because of training bottlenecks. Both reflect massive failures of national policy. And instead of making it possible for more Americans to take these good jobs, policy is luring immigrant nurses from poor countries.

The main reason so many nurses have left the profession is deteriorating working conditions. Cost cutting and managed care have resulted in stagnant wages, short staffing, decline in mentoring of new nurses, higher patient loads, mandatory overtime, and use of "floating" nurses who aren't familiar with cases or protocols and may not specialize in the area in which they are placed. As Gordon Lafer points out in *Labor Studies Journal*, "The health care industry has created its own Catch-22: as working conditions worsen, more nurses opt out of the profession, creating shortages on hospital floors and resulting in even greater speedups, stress, safety worries, and similar conditions that drive additional

nurses out of the industry.” So, improving the work environment could go a long way toward bringing back nurses who left the field and retaining those still there.

Nursing also suffers from a training bottleneck. In 2005, fully 150,000 qualified applicants were turned down at U.S. schools of nursing (both associate and baccalaureate degrees) due to insufficient faculty and classroom or lab space, or lack of clinical sites. The problem is mainly low pay for teachers of nursing, combined with the fact that nurse-training programs are often money losers for community colleges and universities, so too few slots are offered. Few nurses are attracted to teaching because the pay is much lower than that of practicing nurses. Master’s level

and professional organization supports legislation to set nurse-patient staffing ratios and eliminate mandatory overtime, opposition by the American Hospital Association and the Republican Congress have blocked its enactment.

Meanwhile, federal programs to increase the supply of U.S.-trained nurses are feeble and underfunded. The Nurse Education Loan Repayment Program repays 60 percent to 85 percent of student loans for nurses who agree to practice two years in a facility experiencing a critical staff shortage. The Nursing Scholarship Program provides scholarships and stipends to students in exchange for the same two-year commitment. In fiscal year 2005, the programs provided just 599

colleges, and university deans, developed a statewide strategic plan for addressing all aspects of the problem. This initiative has increased the state’s nursing graduation rate by 11 percent per year since 2001 by having nursing schools share some clinical facilities and maximizing use of faculty by developing a shared curriculum and simulation education. The Oregon Council for Nursing also created a software program to coordinate clinical placements regionally. Typically hospitals have affiliations with schools with an agreed upon number of clinical placements. Sometimes scheduling is such that a school can’t fill its allotted slots, so they go unused. Now, all hospitals and schools in the Portland region pool their unused slots so that none are wasted. Potential students, particularly minorities at the high school level, are being recruited into nursing through several creative programs. Hospitals are offering scholarships to nursing students who agree to work at the hospital for at least three years after graduation. Several universities are developing new graduate nursing programs and there is a statewide partnership between eight community colleges and the public university to create a shared, competency-based curriculum. Once in place schools will have the same prerequisites, with one application and dual enrollment so students and their financial aid can move between programs.

A related Oregon leadership initiative is attempting to change the workplace culture to give nurses more of a voice. The effort focuses on nurses exerting leadership and assuming the responsibility to practice to the full scope of their professional authority. These efforts will require changes in management practices, in doctor-nurse relations and among staff nurses. This foundation-funded initiative demonstrates that improving the work culture and coordinating state resources and strategies can reduce quit rates and attract new people to the profession, yet the problem of nurse overwork and underfunded nurse training cries out for national policy.

To drill down into this rich subject is to appreciate that the challenge goes far beyond merely educating more nurses. It has to do with how nurses are treated on the job, what career progressions exist, the pay

Instead of investing in training nurses and making this profession more attractive to Americans, we are outsourcing nurse education and importing immigrant nurses from poor countries like India and Nigeria that need them.

faculty average \$55,712 annually—about the same as an associate degree RN in clinical practice and substantially less than a nurse-practitioner with a master’s degree who makes \$72,480 a year.

But instead of investing in addressing these problems to make this profession more available to Americans, we are importing immigrant nurses from the Philippines, India, Nigeria, and elsewhere. Although there are no government statistics on the number of immigrant nurses working in the United States, in 2005 about 23,000 foreign-educated nurses took the nursing licensure exam. While investing token amounts for educating U.S. nurses, the Bush administration and the hospital lobby are promoting the Brownback Amendment, which would remove all caps on hiring foreign nurses. And the administration added 50,000 new green cards for immigrant nurses. Rather than investing in it, the policy response has been to outsource nursing education.

Ultimately, the solution to the nursing shortage requires federal regulation of working conditions and federal subsidy of nurse training. While every nurse union

loans and 210 scholarships for the whole country. The government rejected 82 percent of the applicants for loan repayment and 94 percent for scholarships due to insufficient funding.

A NUMBER OF STATES ARE TRYING TO fill this vacuum in national policy. Several, including California, now regulate patient-nurse ratios. New York funds community colleges, hospitals, unions, and other partners to help workers in lower-level health occupations to advance into RN and other health-care professions. Washington state is providing \$140,000 to two community colleges to raise nursing faculty salaries by \$10,000 for fiscal year 2007. Several local and state initiatives are attempting to attract students in inner-city middle and high schools to increase minority presence in the occupation and provide good jobs in urban neighborhoods near hospitals.

Oregon is trying to maximize resources through a comprehensive planning initiative. The Oregon Nursing Leadership Council, a consortium of state nursing and credentialing organizations, community

structure for nurses and nurse educators, as well as the role of immigration policy.

The health professions not only connect education to job definition, compensation, and career structure; they also raise the role of economic development. In many cities, hospitals and other health-care facilities are among the largest employers. Remarkably, *Business Week* recently reported that literally all of the net job growth in recent years has been in the health occupations. Public policy—or its absence—has a great deal to do with how these jobs are defined and structured, and whether scarce health dollars are spent rationally, or wastefully.

HUMAN SERVICES: TURNING BAD JOBS INTO BETTER ONES

Below the profession of registered nurse are literally millions of semi-skilled and routine human-service occupations in health care and in the care of children. They include everything from certified nurse assistants (CNAs) to lab technicians in health care as well as child-care worker to teacher in child care. The education

requirements of these occupations range from short-term training to associate degrees, and in some cases, bachelor's degrees. In the case of CNAs and child-care workers, where much of the cost of providing services is ultimately reimbursed by government, it is public policy that consigns these caring positions to the category of high-turnover, low-wage work.

But we could decide, as national policy, to professionalize home care and child care, which would be better for both workers and the people they serve. The initial cost might be more, however, studies demonstrate that most, if not all, of the cost could be recouped in lower turnover, and higher-quality patient care.

Here, unions often lead the way. Unionization campaigns in California, Illinois, and Iowa have increased the pay and benefits of home-care workers dramatically, although they have a ways to go. In each case, protracted campaigns won the right to collectively bargain and resulted in pay raises, benefits, and in some cases, a change in workers' status from independent contractor to either regular

employee or part of a recognized bargaining unit. In order for the funds to be there to upgrade earnings, these agreements also use political leverage to commit government to pay higher wages.

In Illinois, a 1984 campaign led by the Chicago Homecare Organizing Project (CHOP) initially unionized 250 home-care workers under SEIU Local 880. The union now represents more than 80,000 members (including more than 50,000 home child-care providers). Since then, Local 880 has fought for periodic wage increases for home care workers and home child-care providers. The collective bargaining agreement covering more than 21,000 personal assistants working through Illinois' Office of Rehabilitation Services/Department of Human Services will raise the hourly wage to \$9.35 by August 2007 (a 34 percent increase from the \$7 rate before unionization). Chicago private home-care agencies reimbursed by the city government receive an average of \$2 more per hour than their state-funded counterparts, thanks to the success of Local 880, ACORN, and the

65%

of the fastest-growing
occupations require
education or training
after high school.



Jobs for the Future connects economic and workforce development through projects across the country like:

Jobs to Careers, funded by the Robert Wood Johnson and Hitachi Foundations, supports nine partnerships to advance and reward the skill and career development of those who serve on the front lines of health care.

SkillWorks is creating a city-wide system that helps Boston's low-skill, low-income residents move to family-sustaining jobs and helps employers find and retain skilled employees. This collaboration of 14 local and national, public and private funders supports partnerships in industries that are key to Boston's future.

JFF's Career Advancement Portfolio highlights organizations like the Wisconsin Regional Training Partnership, which partners with BIG STEP to increase access to the building and construction trades for women and minorities.



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Chicago Jobs and Living Wage Campaign in passing a living wage ordinance. These workers receive \$9.63 an hour for clients they serve through the city contracts and get annual cost-of-living increases.

In 1997, an SEIU campaign in California also started with changing workers from independent contractors to county employees eligible for union representation. Since then, newly unionized workers have gone from the minimum wage to as much as \$11.50 an hour, averaging \$8.35. The political power of this movement was sufficient to rally bipartisan opposition in

emblematic successes are the campaign by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) to turn hotel jobs such as room cleaner into living-wage positions with career opportunities, and the Justice for Janitors campaign by the Service Employees International Union. In Las Vegas, where HERE made a showcase for its strategy, 48,000 unionized workers represent 90 percent of the city's hotel jobs. Today, their median wage is 40 percent higher than in nonunion Reno. And they have family health insurance, vacation, and defined-benefit pen-

In the 1930s and 1940s, government was benignly neutral toward unions; and after World War II, most large employers reluctantly concluded that they had to live with unions. In 2006, the federal government and nearly all employers are actively hostile to unions. Creative organizing at the state and local level can still make some inroads, however, national policy restoring the neutral role of government would make an enormous difference.

FOSTERING NEW INDUSTRIES THAT PROVIDE GOOD JOBS

In September 2004, Gamesa, the second largest wind energy company in the world, announced that it would build a \$40 million plant in Ebensburg, Pennsylvania, to produce lightweight blades for commercial-scale wind turbine generators. The plant is now up and running and Gamesa is building three other facilities and 18 wind farms in Pennsylvania that ultimately will create 1,000 manufacturing jobs over five years. The company is also locating its U.S. headquarters and a marketing office in Philadelphia. By the time Gamesa establishes a 200-person business for training engineers in these operations, the company's total investment will be \$84 million.

Pennsylvania wasn't just lucky. Gamesa and other new facilities have located there because Governor Ed Rendell's administration is linking energy efficiency to economic development and good jobs. Kathleen McGinty, environmental protection secretary, explains, "What makes us different from other states promoting clean energy and efficiency is that for us it is a means to revitalize manufacturing and be an engine of job creation rather than being first and foremost an environmental strategy. We only put state dollars in energy investments that create jobs."

One of Rendell's first initiatives after taking office in January 2003 was to establish the Pennsylvania Energy Harvest to allocate about \$5 million a year in grants to companies to encourage investment in renewable energy sources, energy-saving production processes, and alternative energy production. The success of the program—\$15.9 million leveraging \$43.7 million in private investment—enabled



High Energy: Gamesa CEO Iñaki López Gandásegui (center) announces the wind energy deal with Pennsylvania's Kathleen McGinty and Governor Ed Rendell.

2005 when Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger proposed cutting wages back to the minimum wage to balance the budget.

Most recently, in July 2005, Iowa Governor Tom Vilsack signed an executive order allowing home-care workers to organize. AFSCME led that campaign. Hourly wages for Iowa's home care workers now average \$9.98, but some earn as much as \$12.70 and contract negotiations are under way. These state efforts are encouraging as far as they go—they offer an employment model as well as a growing political coalition. But what's needed is a national commitment to turn human-service work serving children, shut-ins, and the elderly into paraprofessional or professional careers that pay good wages and offer career advancement.

TENS OF MILLIONS OF OTHER SERVICE jobs pay inadequate wages, but could likewise offer middle-class earnings. Two

sions. The high growth rate of the Las Vegas economy reveals that higher wages and strong unions are not a damper on economic growth. [See Harold Meyerson, "Las Vegas as a Workers Paradise," *TAP*, January 1, 2004.] The SEIU has unionized 250,000 janitors in at least 29 metropolitan areas, with unionized janitors representing the majority of office building janitors in 21 cities. The campaign has transformed these jobs from poverty wages to up to \$17 per hour, some with benefits.

These campaigns challenge the established belief that service-sector jobs are inherently low paying. There is no reason for semi-skilled service sector jobs to pay significantly less than manufacturing did in its heyday for semi-skilled industrial workers. These unions have begun to do just what the industrial unions accomplished starting in the 1930s—turn bad jobs into middle-class ones. Today, of course, this project is much more difficult.

the governor to persuade the Legislature to do something bigger. At Rendell's request, the Legislature reactivated a defunct state agency and energy program, the Pennsylvania Energy Development Authority (PEDA), to invest even more in the jobs-energy strategy.

PEDA can now float up to \$1 billion in tax-free bonds to finance construction of energy projects and provides grants and loans to support public-private ventures. In two years, PEDA has awarded \$15 million in grants and loans for 41 clean energy projects expected to leverage \$220 million in private investment and 1,558 permanent and construction jobs. PEDA will begin issuing bonds for large-scale clean power projects in 2007.

For example, one such grant, for \$1.3 million, went to Plextronics, a cutting-edge solar technology company spun off by Carnegie Mellon University. The grant will subsidize continued development of an organic conductive polymer technology. This will replace the more costly silicon wafers that make solar electricity prohibitively expensive. Plextronics already has added 12 jobs to its base of 19 and leased space for a facility to produce the product, Plexcore, which could employ as many as 327 full-time workers within the next five years.

Attracting energy companies requires policy changes as well as investment. Gamesa didn't demand the typical package of tax subsidies. Rather, it asked the state to create a market by becoming a major purchaser of alternative energy. The state legislature passed an advanced energy portfolio standard that requires that 18 percent of the state's electricity come from renewable sources by 2020. Already the largest producer of wind energy east of the Mississippi River, the Gamesa plant positioned the state as the largest producer of wind turbines as well.

Pennsylvania's energy portfolio standard also requires 10 percent of electricity to be generated from waste coal and byproducts from pulping and wood manufacturing. This will help eliminate mine-scarred landscapes and the acid mine drainage and other pollution associated with waste coal. PEDA provided \$400 million in bond financing toward a 272-megawatt waste coal electric generation

facility developed by Robinson Power Co. LLC in Washington County, southwest of Pittsburgh. The facility is scheduled to begin construction in October. It will create 350 permanent unionized jobs and eliminate 60 million tons of waste coal in 25 years. It will produce more than twice the electric power—with lower air emissions—than the plant it is replacing.

The portfolio standard will also increase capacity in solar energy. By 2021 utilities will be required to purchase 700 megawatts of solar-produced electricity, the second largest solar requirement in the nation. Since 2003, the commonwealth has helped to fund over half of the solar photovoltaic installations in Pennsylvania—about 505 kilowatts. The nearly \$3 million in state funding was matched by more than \$10 million from other sources. To encourage continued technological innovation Pennsylvania has invested more than \$2 million in solar research, including \$500,000 in direct funding to Pennsylvania's only solar manufacturer, Solar Power Industries, to enhance its manufacturing capabilities. Talks are under way with a leading German solar energy company about locating a facility in the state. If successful, the commonwealth will gain still more manufacturing jobs and millions in state-of-the-art equipment.

Pennsylvania can attract these high-tech facilities because manufacturing has not been written off. Tom Croft is executive director of the Steel Valley Authority, an economic development agency focused on manufacturing. He explains that building next-generation manufacturing required the commonwealth to fully reassess which of its manufacturers could be suppliers to, and customers for, these new technologies. After an unprecedented accord between labor, business, and community stakeholders, Pennsylvania gave new priorities to retaining and modernizing manufacturing, providing new capital and pension fund investments in the field, investing in incumbent workers, and even addressing the unfair trade crisis. Without a manufacturing infrastructure and skilled workers, we can't build the industries of the future.

CAN THESE POLICIES GO NATIONAL?

As these examples show, states can be both laboratories for creative good-jobs policies and incubators of political coalitions on their behalf. For the moment, a national good-jobs policy is precluded by the Bush administration and the Republican Congress. In the meantime, the Apollo Alliance, a coalition of labor unions, environmentalists, and some business leaders is attempting to push the green jobs agenda forward on the national level.

The Alliance was created after September 11 to promote a national commitment of the magnitude of the Apollo space mission to move the nation toward energy independence and in the process create good jobs in manufacturing and other sectors. The Alliance proposes a \$300 billion national investment over 10 years, which would add more than 3.3 million jobs to the economy and stimulate \$1.4 trillion in new GDP, with the cost being repaid through increased federal tax revenues and earnings.

Pending a more congenial national administration, organizers focused on giving visibility to the notion that clean energy creates good jobs and building a base of state and local coalitions supporting the agenda. These state and local groups have achieved clean energy and green projects and policies, although Apollo may never come up as a player. In Pennsylvania, Apollo represented the United Steelworkers on the Governor's Energy Task Force and were critical in gaining United Mine Workers support for the energy portfolio standard. In Washington state, Apollo helped get the machinists union, which represents woodcutters in the lumber industry, to back the state's green building standard.

All of this is prologue to what needs to be a massive shift in national policy, to put good jobs in both manufacturing and services at the heart of America's economic agenda. **TAP**

Joan Fitzgerald, author of Moving Up in the New Economy, directs the graduate program on law policy and society at Northeastern University.

No Justice, No Growth

How Los Angeles is making big-time developers create decent jobs.

BY HAROLD MEYERSON

ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 22, 1995, to the total astonishment of the people working and walking on Hollywood Boulevard—the sales clerks of a hundred shlock emporiums, the stoners, the runaways, and the crowds of ever-bewildered tourists who had trekked to the heart of Hollywood in search of glamour only to find one of Los Angeles' most depressing neighborhoods—a sinkhole fully 80 feet wide suddenly opened in the middle of the street. Construction workers building the city's Red Line subway beneath the street scrambled to avoid the descending pavement. Miraculously, no one was seriously hurt, but traffic, street life, and the commercial activity at the center of L.A.'s (if not the world's) most famous neighborhood ground to a near-total and months-long halt.

For a city that had experienced both a cataclysmic riot and a terrifying earthquake over the preceding three years; for a city whose single largest industry, aerospace, had collapsed over the preceding half-decade with the end of the Cold War; for a city that was hemorrhaging middle-class jobs and middle-class residents, then in full flight to Nevada and Arizona and Colorado; the hole in the middle of Hollywood was an apt metaphor for L.A.'s plight. The middle was falling out of the Los Angeles economy, too—a hole that virtually nobody had the faintest idea how to plug.

As hundreds of thousands of largely native-born and unionized defense workers left town for good, hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Mexico and Central America flooded into the city. During the 1980s and 1990s, according to a new report from the California Budget Project (CBP), the number of foreign-born workers in Los Angeles County increased by 900,000. With amazing rapidity, the economy began to boom at the bottom. Some industries—the sweatshop

sector of garment manufacturing, for one—were reborn. Other industries—construction, trucking, building maintenance—saw their employers fire their unionized employees and hire new ones at half the wage levels of their predecessors. In just the two years between 1994 and 1996, according to a California State Assembly report on the L.A. economy, the number of residents in households with annual incomes under \$20,000 in-



Jackie Goldberg: Community benefits thinker-upper

creased by 13.5 percent, to 41 percent of the county's population (which was then roughly 9.5 million people). Residents in households with annual incomes between \$20,000 and \$40,000 increased by 7 percent, to 25 percent of the county's population. But the middle class—Angelenos in households making between \$40,000 and \$100,000 annually—decreased by 7.7 percent, to just 26 percent of L.A. County. And this was during a time when unemployment had started to drop.

Early into Bill Clinton's second term, it was clear that these changes were no

cyclical aberration, but simply the shape of the new Los Angeles. The more unemployment declined, the more bipolar the economy became. Developers were beginning to build again, the entertainment industry grew, gentrification was transforming neighborhoods, and the number of truly prosperous Angelenos, like the number of truly prosperous Manhattanites, greatly increased. And yet, the percentage of middle-income jobs and the percentage of L.A. residents leading middle-class lives remained stubbornly low—and falling. Between 1979 and 2005, according to the CBP report, the inflation-adjusted median hourly wage of a Los Angeles worker actually declined by 6.4 percent, and the share of L.A. workers with job-based health coverage plummeted from 71.1 percent to 50.5 percent. A new Los Angeles, preponderantly grimmer and poorer (if also more opulent and glitzy) than its predecessor, had arisen on the ashes of the old. And hardly anybody had a plausible notion about how the city could recapture the mass prosperity it had taken for granted in the decades after World War II.

AS IT HAPPENED, ONE PERSON WHO did have such a notion—two notions, in fact—was the city council member from Hollywood, Jackie Goldberg. An activist in Berkeley's Free Speech Movement during her undergraduate days, Goldberg had been a famously innovative public school teacher, then a member of L.A.'s school board, and had won election to the council in 1993 when L.A. and Hollywood were both at their nadir. But as the economy began to come back, Goldberg pushed two new mechanisms through that which L.A.'s new working class to secure a greater, and fairer, share of the region's wealth. The first of these was a living-wage ordinance, which required firms under contract to the city to pay an hourly wage several dollars higher than the federal minimum and to provide health insurance coverage as well—or an hourly wage roughly a dollar higher than that if the contractor didn't offer the health coverage. After lobbying her city council colleagues for the better part of a

year, and backed by the L.A. County Federation of Labor, which had only recently become an election-day powerhouse, Goldberg got the council to enact the ordinance by unanimous vote in 1997.

Her other idea was more Hollywood-specific. As the economy rebounded, Goldberg looked for a major company to commit to a mega-development that might begin to turn Hollywood around. Eventually, she interested Trizec-Hahn, one of the nation's leading commercial property developers and owners, in a site at the corner of Hollywood Boulevard and Highland Avenue, just a few blocks west of where the sinkhole had sunk. Trizec-Hahn proposed a major project that in-

employees would be treated well. We wanted development, [but] we basically decided that all boats should rise."

Goldberg and her development aide, Roxana Tynan, with the assistance of the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE), the progressive policy and organizing group that had helped Goldberg formulate and build support for the living-wage ordinance, then initiated negotiations with the developer. When they were done, in 1998, Trizec-Hahn had agreed that the employees of the new hotel would work under the same contract that the city's unionized hotel workers had won. (When the hotel opened, the workers joined and the management

les have expanded and refined over the years on subsequent major projects around town, including the Staples Center and the surrounding development downtown, and the expansion of LAX, the city's notoriously congested airport. Under the dynamic leadership of Madeline Janis (formerly Madeline Janis-Aparicio), LAANE has steadily enlarged the scope both of the CBAs and the living-wage ordinances within Southern California. Its successes have inspired unions and community organizations across the nation to their own campaigns linking growth to justice. Living wage ordinances have now been enacted in more than 120 municipalities across the country, while CBAs—which now may require developers not merely to provide decent jobs to local residents, but to build affordable housing, parks, health clinics, and other social amenities—have been implemented on at least 48 major projects from Seattle to Miami.

This is, of course, justice by increments, but in the absence of a federal government interested in raising the minimum wage, providing health coverage for all, or enabling workers to join unions, incremental justice is as good as it gets. So it falls to the states to hike the minimum wage, and to more liberal cities to enact living wage ordinances covering employees of city contractors. And even in a city as liberal as Los Angeles, passing an ordinance mandating CBAs for projects that aren't recipients of city funding or redevelopment district tax abatements is impossible. There are still vast swaths of Los Angeles, in South Central L.A. most particularly, where developers fear to tread. The progressive leaders and groups that require developer concessions on major projects in neighborhoods that are trending upward have shown no desire to ask anything of a developer who ventures into a depressed part of town to build a store or two.

CBAs, says Cecilia Estolano, the new executive director of L.A.'s Community Redevelopment Agency, "work best when there is substantial agency money invested, when they're big projects, and when they're in hot markets or emerging markets." In much of Los Angeles—in

Community benefit agreements are a narrow attempt to create broadly shared prosperity, at a moment when broad attempts are beyond the horizon of the possible.

cluded a theater that would host the Oscar ceremonies, a high-end hotel, and some upscale retail outlets. It was the kind of development that Hollywood had not seen since before World War II. Goldberg was understandably elated. But she wanted more.

Goldberg had two sources of leverage over Trizec-Hahn. First, in L.A.'s bizarrely balkanized city government, it's chiefly the city council member whose approval is decisive for the construction of any major project in the member's district. Second, Hollywood had been run down for so long that it qualified as a redevelopment district, enabling a developer to qualify for tax abatements on its properties and other public subsidies from the city's Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA). And if Trizec-Hahn wanted Goldberg's blessing and those abatements (the city's total investment in the project eventually totaled \$90 million), there were conditions she wanted it to meet.

"Prior to my coming on to the city council," Goldberg recalls, "the CRA had put a fortune into the New Otani Hotel downtown, which has had continuously terrible relations with its employees. I was determined that if we were going to put money into Hollywood-Highland, the

recognized the union.) The employees of the Kodak Theater were unionized as well. ("Nobody wanted a strike before an awards show," Goldberg notes dryly.) Trizec-Hahn's direct employees—the parking attendants, janitors, security guards, and gardeners—would be covered under the city's living-wage ordinance. The developer also agreed to favor the lease applications of prospective retail tenants who pledged to provide their sales clerks and other employees with health insurance and a living wage. And the company also agreed to recruit its direct employees initially from the immediately surrounding ZIP codes, which entailed a financial commitment on its part to provide training for many of the local hires. In the end, 20 percent of the construction workers who built the project and 68 percent of the permanent employees at the hotel were hired from the surrounding ZIP code. Working-class Hollywood would have a direct share in Hollywood's revival.

AND SO WAS BORN THE FIRST Community benefits agreement (CBA). Hatched straight "from Jackie's ideology," as Tynan recalls, the Hollywood-Highland CBA set a template that LAANE and various progressive officials in Los Ange-

much of urban America—none of those conditions pertain. Which compels LAANE, now the primary architect of CBAs across Los Angeles, to go project by project, creating an archipelago of decent living standards in a sea of working-class stagnation.

EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE NEGOTIATED on a project-by-project basis, CBAs have become, in less than a decade, the way that major developments get built in Los Angeles. For one thing, while CBAs clearly impose additional costs on the developer, they also help ensure that his project will get green-lighted. “The best way to get our project approved is to join with the community,” says Cliff Goldstein, a partner in J.H. Snyder, one of Southern California’s largest commercial developers. “Once we’ve crafted an agreement, we walk hand in hand downtown to the council. We become a formidable foe if someone wants to make us their foe.”

Since Hollywood-Highland first established the CBA, a distinct process has emerged on subsequent projects. One

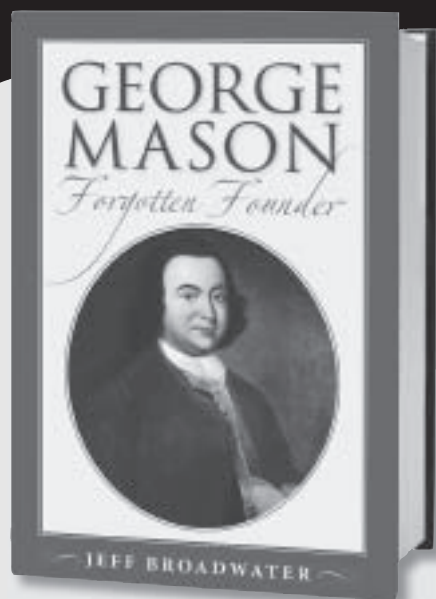
group—often but not always LAANE—organizes residents in the vicinity of the proposed project, and links pre-existing community organizations and institutions with other affected parties: the building trades unions that want to construct it, the building maintenance unions (usually, the SEIU) and hotel union (UNITE HERE) that may staff the facilities that the project will contain, environmental organizations concerned with the effect the project will have on the area. The local council member may serve as a liaison to local institutions—community colleges, for instance—that will be called on to offer job training to local residents hired by the project.

The expanding scope of CBAs is apparent in looking at the agreements crafted for three major projects over the past half-decade. In the late 1990s, two right-wing billionaires—Rupert Murdoch and Denver’s Phil Anschutz—announced that they wished to develop the area surrounding the Staples Center, home to the Lakers, with luxury hotels, condos, stores, office buildings, and theaters. A coalition of 25

community groups from the area—a neighborhood consisting largely of desperately poor immigrants—already had come together to deal with problems of housing relocation, increased traffic and the like. Separately, Miguel Contreras, head of the L.A. County Federation of Labor, entered into negotiations with the developers on behalf of five unions that sought to represent the parking attendants and the hotel, theater, and maintenance workers who’d get permanent jobs once the project was completed, and the building trades unions that would construct it. The unions reached an accord with the developer first, but refused to sign it until the community groups reached their own accord, which included a commitment to hire half the permanent employees from the neighborhood, the set-aside of one-fifth of the new housing units for low-income residents, and the creation of neighborhood parks. Once these accords were reached, the city council gave the go-ahead for the project, which is under construction today.

LAANE crafted an even larger and

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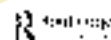


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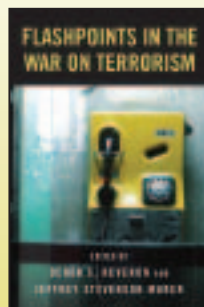
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more diverse coalition in dealing with the proposed expansion of LAX, which had been stymied for more than a decade when Mayor James Hahn finally sought council approval for the proposal shortly after he took office in 2001. In deference to labor's political clout, Hahn had given Contreras a seat on the Airport Commission, which helped ensure local hiring, living wages and union contracts for workers at the airport's many concessions and retail outlets. As well, the city committed \$500 million over the next decade to noise abatement improvements in the schools near the airport and to air-quality improvements throughout the area. "The muscle of the labor movement was the linchpin" in broadening the coalition, says LAANE's Janis, since it was apparent that Contreras' commitment to a far-reaching CBA ensured that a deal would be struck. "It convinced the environmental movement—the Environmental Defense Fund, the Coalition for Clean Air, the NRDC—to switch its approach from suing at the back end to helping come up with solutions at the front end."

Back in Hollywood, meanwhile, a CBA has just been finalized for a project at the storied but otherwise unremarkable corner of Hollywood and Vine, which will include a W Hotel, luxury and low-income condos and apartments, and a number of retail establishments. In addition to the usual local hiring and living-wage stipulations for the hotel workers and other developer employees, the pact calls for the developer to set aside funds for a culinary academy, so hotel workers can move up to better hotel and restaurant jobs, and funding for nearby Hollywood High School to expand its performing arts magnet program.

ON THE ONE HAND, THEN, THE RANGE of community benefits continues to grow with the varied needs of the impacted communities. On the other hand, both in Los Angeles and in cities around the country, the vast majority of CBAs contain no genuinely enforceable language covering the wages and benefits of workers in the retail establishments that the project owners lease. Only where the city itself has owned the development—that is, at the airport and at a new mixed-use proj-

ect slated for development across the street from Frank Gehry's Disney Concert Hall—have retailers been required to set pay rates in accord with the city's living wage ordinance. "The problem is, unionized supermarkets and Costco are the only retailers to pay a living wage," says Roxana Tynan, who is now LAANE's chief negotiator of CBAs. Most CBAs require the developer to seek out retailers who will pay such wages; the agreement at one North Hollywood project even imposes some manageable financial penalties on the developer, J. H. Snyder, if it fails to have its retailers pay a living wage to a specified percentage of their employees.

But if CBAs have often failed to raise the pay levels of non-supermarket retail workers, they have plainly boosted the wages of the construction workers who build the developments, the janitors who clean them, and the workers who staff the markets, hotels and theaters (if not clothing stores) therein. Between 2000 and 2006, 104,000 construction jobs and 113,000 permanent jobs were covered under CBAs, according to an estimate from the Partnership for Working Families, the national coalition of local CBA advocacy groups.

Surprisingly, perhaps, in cities where the NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) mentality has routinely blocked development, many in the business community welcome the emergence of this growth-with-justice political constellation. Economist Jack Kyser, who as vice president of the private Los Angeles County Economic Development Corp. is the closest thing the city has to a business community spokesperson, is no fan of living-wage ordinances or, more generally, increased regulations on business. He has kind words, though, for CBAs, which, he believes, often "defuse the opposition to very high-profile projects. Purists may say this is not the best way to go. But if you want to get something built, especially in an area as contentious as L.A. can be, it's a good way to go. You get your project, and everybody benefits."

The success of CBAs in Los Angeles, and the willingness of LAANE to commit its resources to the development of kindred campaigns in other cities, means that

CBAs and the coalitions demanding them have now sprung up in roughly 20 cities across the nation. In Denver, a boomtown with a generally liberal city government but not much of a progressive political infrastructure, the Front Range Economic Strategy Center has been able to win some affordable housing commitments and prevailing wage standards for construction workers on certain major projects. But, says Front UC Range President Leslie Moody, "trying to get a living wage for retail workers has been a huge frustration." In San Jose, the labor and economic justice movements decided to eschew specific project agreements and, in light of the city's affluence and progressivism, to push for a city ordinance mandating specified community benefits on all projects exceeding a certain value. San Jose business, however, has fiercely opposed the proposal, and how the city council will resolve the question is as yet undetermined.

To some degree, of course, the scope of a CBA is a function of the power of the forces demanding it. It is hardly an accident that these local strategies first appeared in cities with strong unions, organized neighborhoods, and progressive city councils. CBAs are inherently a second-choice strategy, a narrow attempt to create broadly shared prosperity at a moment when broad attempts that rely on state policy or large-scale unionization are beyond the horizon of the possible. Their limited scope notwithstanding, they represent a considerable achievement—intellectual, organizational, and political—at a time when working-class America is otherwise losing ground. And if more of America were organized, there would be more such local achievements, as well as more complementary national policies.

One place where that achievement is apparent today is Hollywood, where new development is rampant, where the nightlife is both safer and livelier than it's been in years, and where the ubiquitous tourists don't look quite as crestfallen as they did a decade ago when the entire neighborhood seemed to sag. Hollywood has always believed in comebacks, but who would have thought its own would in part be the consequence of a movement for economic justice? **TAP**

OCCUPATIONS WITH THE LARGEST PROJECTED JOB GROWTH, 2004-2014

TITLE	■ Low Wage		■ Medium Wage		■ High Wage
	NUMBER OF JOBS (THOUSANDS)		PREDICTED GROWTH		EDUCATION OR TRAINING NEEDED*
	2004	2014	NUMBER	PERCENT	
■ Retail salespersons	4,256	4,992	736	17.3	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Registered nurses	2,394	3,096	703	29.4	Associate degree
■ Postsecondary teachers	1,628	2,153	524	32.2	Doctoral degree
■ Customer service representatives	2,063	2,534	471	22.8	Moderate-term on-the-job training
■ Janitors	2,374	2,813	440	18.5	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Waiters and waitresses	2,252	2,627	376	16.7	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Food preparation and serving workers	2,150	2,516	367	17.1	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Home health aides	624	974	350	56.0	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	1,455	1,781	325	22.3	Postsecondary vocational award
■ Managers	1,807	2,115	308	17.0	Bachelor's or higher degree, plus work experience
■ Personal and home care aides	701	988	287	41.0	Short-term on-the-job training
■ School teachers	1,457	1,722	265	18.2	Bachelor's degree
■ Accountants and auditors	1,176	1,440	264	22.4	Bachelor's degree
■ Office clerks	3,138	3,401	263	8.4	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Laborers	2,430	2,678	248	10.2	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Receptionists	1,133	1,379	246	21.7	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Landscaping and groundskeeping workers	1,177	1,407	230	19.5	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Truck drivers, heavy and tractor-trailer	1,738	1,962	223	12.9	Moderate-term on-the-job training
■ Computer software engineers	460	682	222	48.4	Bachelor's degree
■ Repair workers	1,332	1,533	202	15.2	Moderate-term on-the-job training
■ Medical assistants	387	589	202	52.1	Moderate-term on-the-job training
■ Executive secretaries and administrative assistants	1,547	1,739	192	12.4	Moderate-term on-the-job training
■ Sales representatives	1,454	1,641	187	12.9	Moderate-term on-the-job training
■ Carpenters	1,349	1,535	186	13.8	Long-term on-the-job training
■ Teacher assistants	1,296	1,478	183	14.1	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Child care workers	1,280	1,456	176	13.8	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Food preparation workers	889	1,064	175	19.7	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Maids and housekeeping cleaners	1,422	1,587	165	11.6	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Truck drivers, light or delivery services	1,042	1,206	164	15.7	Short-term on-the-job training
■ Computer systems analysts	487	640	153	31.4	Bachelor's degree

*An occupation is placed into one of 11 categories that best describes the postsecondary education or training needed by most workers to become fully qualified. For more information about the categories, see Occupational Projections and Training Data, 2004-05 edition, Bulletin 2572 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, March 2004) and Occupational Projections and Training Data, 2006-07 edition, Bulletin 2602 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, forthcoming).

— Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (<http://www.bls.gov/emp/emptab3.htm>)

Outsourcing: Bigger Than You Thought

The outsourcing wave is about to hit the service sector. To keep good service jobs, we need to prepare the workforce and understand the jobs.

BY ALAN S. BLINDER

THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL philosopher Edmund Burke, who probably would not have been a reader of *The American Prospect*, once observed, “You can never plan the future by the past.” But when it comes to preparing the American workforce for the jobs of the future, we may be doing just that.

For about a quarter-century, demand for labor appears to have shifted toward the college-educated and away from high-school graduates and dropouts. This shift, most economists believe, is the primary (though not the sole) reason for rising income inequality, and there is no end in sight. Economists refer to this phenomenon by an antiseptic name: skill-biased technical progress. In plain English, it means that the labor market has turned ferociously against the low skilled and the uneducated.

In a progressive society, such a worrisome social phenomenon might elicit some strong policy responses, such as more compensatory education, stepped-up efforts at retraining, reinforcement (rather than shredding) of the social safety net, and so on. You don’t fight the market’s valuation of skills; you try to mitigate its more deleterious effects. We did a bit of this in the United States in the 1990s, by raising the minimum wage and expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit. Combined with tight labor markets, these measures improved things for the average worker. But in this decade, little or no mitigation has been attempted. Social Darwinism has come roaring back.

With one big exception: We have expended considerable efforts to keep more young people in school longer (e.g., reducing high-school dropouts and sending more kids to college) and to improve the quality of schooling (e.g., via charter schools and No Child Left Behind). Success in these domains may have been

modest, but not for lack of trying. You don’t have to remind Americans that education is important; the need for educational reform is etched into the public consciousness. Indeed, many people view education as the silver bullet. On hearing the question “How do we best prepare the American workforce of the future?” many Americans react reflexively with: “Get more kids to study science and math, and send more of them to college.”

Which brings me to the future. As I argued in a recent article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, the greatest problem for the next generation of American workers may not be lack of education, but rather “offshoring”—the movement of jobs overseas, especially to countries with much lower wages, such as India and China. Manufacturing jobs have been migrating overseas for decades. But the new wave of offshoring, of service jobs, is something different.

Traditionally, we think of service jobs as being largely immune to foreign competition. After all, you can’t get your hair cut by a barber or your broken arm set by a doctor in a distant land. But stunning advances in communication technology, plus the emergence of a vast new labor pool in Asia and Eastern Europe, are changing that picture radically, subjecting millions of presumed-safe domestic service jobs to foreign competition. And it is not necessary actually to move jobs to low-wage countries in order to restrain wage increases; the mere threat of offshoring can put a damper on wages.

Service-sector offshoring is a minor phenomenon so far, Lou Dobbs notwithstanding; probably well under 1 percent of U.S. service jobs have been outsourced. But I believe that service-sector offshoring will eventually exceed manufacturing-sector offshoring by a hefty margin—for three main reasons. The first is simple arithmetic: There are vastly

more service jobs than manufacturing jobs in the United States (and in other rich countries). Second, the technological advances that have made service-sector offshoring possible will continue and accelerate, so the range of services that can be moved offshore will increase ineluctably. Third, the number of (e.g., Indian and Chinese) workers capable of performing service jobs offshore seems certain to grow, perhaps exponentially.

I do not mean to paint a bleak picture here. Ever since Adam Smith and David Ricardo, economists have explained and extolled the gains in living standards that derive from international trade. Those arguments are just as valid for trade in services as for trade in goods. There really *are* net gains to the United States from expanding service-sector trade with India, China, and the rest. The offshoring problem is not about the adverse nature of what economists call the economy’s eventual equilibrium. Rather, it is about the so-called *transition*—the ride from here to there. That ride, which could take a generation or more, may be bumpy. And during the long adjustment period, many U.S. wages could face downward pressure.

Thus far, only American manufacturing workers and a few low-end service workers (e.g., call-center operators) have been competing, at least potentially, with millions of people in faraway lands eager to work for what seems a pittance by U.S. standards. But offshoring is no longer limited to low-end service jobs. Computer code can be written overseas and e-mailed back to the United States. So can your tax return and lots of legal work, provided you do not insist on face-to-face contact with the accountant or lawyer. In writing and editing this article, I communicated with the editors and staff of *The American Prospect* only by telephone and e-mail. Why couldn’t they (or I, for that matter) have been in India? The possibilities are, if not endless, at least vast.

WHAT DISTINGUISHES THE JOBS that cannot be offshored from the ones that can? The crucial distinction is *not*—and this is the central point of this essay—the required levels of skill and education. These attributes have been crit-

ical to labor-market success in the past, but may be less so in the future. Instead, the new critical distinction may be that some services either require personal delivery (e.g., driving a taxi and brain surgery) or are seriously degraded when delivered electronically (e.g., college teaching—at least, I hope!), while other jobs (e.g., call centers and keyboard data entry) are not. Call the first category personal services and the second category impersonal services. With this terminology, I have three main points to make about preparing our workforce for the brave, new world of the future.

First, we need to think about, plan, and redesign our educational system with the crucial distinction between personal service jobs and impersonal service jobs in mind. Many of the impersonal service jobs will migrate offshore, but the personal service jobs will stay here.

Second, the line that divides personal services from impersonal services will move in only one direction over time, as technological progress makes it possible to deliver an ever-increasing array of services electronically.

Third, the new distinction between personal and impersonal jobs is quite different from, and appears essentially unrelated to, the traditional distinction between jobs that do and do not require high levels of education.

For example, it is easy to offshore working in a call center, typing transcripts, writing computer code, and reading X-rays. The first two require little education; the last two require quite a lot. On the other hand, it is either impossible or very difficult to offshore janitorial services, fast-food restaurant service, college teaching, and open-heart surgery. Again, the first two occupations require little or no education, while the last two require a great deal. There seems to be little or no correlation between educational requirements (the old concern) and how “offshorable” jobs are (the new one).

If so, the implications could be startling. A generation from now, civil engineers (who must be physically present) may be in greater demand in the United States than computer engineers (who don’t). Similarly, there might be more di-

voice lawyers (not offshorable) than tax lawyers (partly offshorable). More imaginatively, electricians might earn more than computer programmers. I am not predicting any of this; lots of things influence relative demands and supplies for different types of labor. But it all seems within the realm of the possible as technology continues to enhance the offshorability of even highly skilled occupations. What does seem highly likely is that the relative demand for labor in the United States will shift away from impersonal services and toward personal services, and this shift will look quite different from the familiar story of skill-biased technical progress. So Burke’s warning is worth heeding.

I am *not* suggesting that education will become a handicap in the job market of the future. On the contrary, to the

The greatest problem for American workers may not be lack of education but the movement of jobs overseas.

extent that education raises productivity and that better-educated workers are more adaptable and/or more creative, a wage premium for higher education should remain. Thus, it still makes sense to send more of America’s youth to college. But, over the next generation, *the kind of education* our young people receive may prove to be more important than *how much education* they receive. In that sense, a college degree may lose its exalted “silver bullet” status.

Looking back over the past 25 years, “stay in school longer” was excellent advice for success in the labor market. But looking forward over the next 25 years, more subtle occupational advice may be needed. “Prepare yourself for a high-end personal service occupation that is not offshorable” is a more nuanced message than “stay in school.” But it may prove to be more useful. And many non-offshorable jobs—such as carpenters, electricians, and plumbers—do not require college education.

The hard question is how to make this more subtle advice concrete and actionable. The children entering America’s educational system today, at age 5, will emerge into a very different labor market when they leave it. Given gestation peri-

ods of 13 to 17 years and more, educators and policy-makers need to be thinking now about the kinds of training and skills that will best prepare these children for their future working lives. Specifically, it is essential to educate America’s youth for the jobs that will actually be available in America 20 to 30 years from now, not for the jobs that will have moved offshore.

Some of the personal service jobs that will remain in the United States will be very high-end (doctors), others will be less glamorous though well paid (plumbers), and some will be “dead end” (janitor). We need to think long and hard about the types of skills that best prepare people to deliver high-end personal services, and how to teach those skills in our elementary and high schools. I am not an education specialist, but it strikes me that, for example, the

central thrust of No Child Left Behind is pushing the nation in exactly the wrong direction. I am all for accountability. But the nation’s school system will not build the creative, flexible, people-oriented workforce we will need in the future by drilling kids incessantly with rote preparation for standardized tests in the vain hope that they will perform as well as memory chips.

Starting in the elementary schools, we need to develop our youngsters’ imaginations and people skills as well as their “reading, writing, and ‘rithmetic.” Remember that kindergarten grade for “works and plays well with others”? It may become increasingly important in a world of personally delivered services. Such training probably needs to be continued and made more sophisticated in the secondary schools, where, for example, good communications skills need to be developed.

More vocational education is probably also in order. After all, nurses, carpenters, and plumbers are already scarce, and we’ll likely need more of them in the future. Much vocational training now takes place in community colleges; and they, too, need to adapt their curricula to the job market of the future.

While it is probably still true that we

should send more kids to college and increase the number who study science, math, and engineering, we need to focus on training more college students for the high-end jobs that are unlikely to move offshore, and on developing a creative workforce that will keep America incubating and developing new processes, new products, and entirely new industries. Offshoring is, after all, mostly about following and copying. American needs to lead and innovate instead, just as we have in the past.

Educational reform is not the whole story, of course. I suggested at the outset, for example, that we needed to repair our tattered social safety net and turn it into a retraining trampoline that bounces displaced workers back into productive employment. But many low-end personal service jobs cannot be turned into more attractive jobs simply by more training—think about janitors, fast-food workers, and nurse's aides, for example. Running a tight labor market would help such workers, as would a higher minimum wage, an expanded Earned Income

Tax Credit, universal health insurance, and the like.

Moving up the skill ladder, employment is concentrated in the public or quasi-public sector in a number of service occupations. Teachers and health-care workers are two prominent examples. In such cases, government policy can influence wages and working conditions directly by upgrading the structure and pay of such jobs—developing more professional early-childhood teachers and fewer casual day-care workers for example—as long as the taxpayer is willing to foot the bill. Similarly, some service jobs such as registered nurses are in short supply mainly because we are not training enough qualified personnel. Here, too, public policy can help by widening the pipeline to allow more workers through. So there are a variety of policy levers that might do some good—if we are willing to pull them.

But all that said, education is still the right place to start. Indeed, it is much more than that because the educational system affects the entire population and because no other institution is nearly as

important when it comes to preparing our youth for the world of work. As the first industrial revolution took hold, America radically transformed (and democratized) its educational system to meet the new demands of an industrial society. We may need to do something like that again. There is a great deal at stake here. If we get this one wrong, the next generation will pay dearly. But if we get it (close to) right, the gains from trade promise coming generations a prosperous future.

The somewhat inchoate challenge posed here—preparing more young Americans for personal service jobs—brings to mind one of my favorite Churchill quotations: “You can always count on Americans to do the right thing—after they’ve tried everything else.” It is time to start trying. **TAP**

Alan S. Blinder is the Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics at Princeton University. He has served as vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and was a member of President Clinton's original Council of Economic Advisers.



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"Tom Edsall's careful analysis, a real downer for Democrats, suggests that a progressive revival will be a heavy lift indeed."

— PAGE 52



TELEVISION

BODYMORE, MURDALAND

Is The Wire a cop show? Well, yes. But having widened its gaze to City Hall and beyond, it's become a seminar on the fate of the American city.

BY RICHARD BYRNE

"It's Baltimore, gentlemen. The gods will not save you."

— *The police commissioner to his commanders on The Wire*

THE BALTIMORE POLICE DEPARTMENT's 2005 annual report is crammed with statistics that tell a story. Violent crime is down in every category measured by the department. The city witnessed 269 murders in 2005, or seven fewer than the previous year. The department's Organized Crime Division seized 618 firearms; 37 kilos of marijuana, cocaine, and heroin; and more than \$10 million in cash. The narrative here is straightforward: The streets may be

mean, but the cops are winning.

It's the story that one expects from the city's police force—especially in an election year that finds the city's mayor, Martin O'Malley, running for governor. American television, however, has few excuses for its consistent fealty to the same story. The crime shows that crowd our TV channels peddle straightforward morality tales in which criminals find their nefarious misdeeds unraveled (and even tried and judged!) in a mere hour's time through the work of noble and efficient cops and prosecutors.

HBO's acclaimed crime drama *The Wire*, which is set in Baltimore, does more than complicate that simple narrative.

Over four seasons of intricate and nuanced television, its creator David Simon (author of the bestselling nonfiction crime classic *Homicide*) has stood the cozy fables of TV crime shows on their head. *The Wire* bursts at its seams with walking contradictions and unexpected reversals. A gay Robin Hood who robs drug dealers. A brilliant cop consumed by his own congenital hatred of authority. A junkie snitch who sees the streets more clearly, through his narcotic haze, than the cops or the dealers.

The world of *The Wire* is also a place where drug kingpins follow codes of conduct that include a "Sunday Truce" as they murder government witnesses, competitors, and innocent bystanders with near impunity. It's a place where slow and stagnant policy bureaucracy—and petty office politics—can be just as lethal as a handgun. *The Wire*, in sum, is *Law and Disorder*: It captures, unremittingly, precisely why we feel so uneasy about our own cities, even as the statistics try to reassure us. (In Simon's West Baltimore neighborhoods, those statistics exist largely to be altered—or "juke"—for political effect.)

Over the course of four seasons, *The Wire* has only raised its aim. The show's focus on cops and dealers and snitches in a booming drug trade in its first 13 episodes expanded over the next three seasons to encompass dying American labor unions, mayoral politics, and the public schools. Indeed, Simon and his accomplices (including co-producer and former Baltimore cop Ed Burns and distinguished novelists like Richard Price and George Pelecanos as writers on key episodes) have transformed Baltimore into a place called "Bodymore, Murdaland." And unlike most cop shows, where the characters float in an ether anchored only by establishing shots (a hot dog stand for New York, the flash of flesh and fantasy for L.A. or Miami), *The Wire's*

Bodmore is obsessively Baltimore, right down to the thick accents and the detectives swilling “Natty Bo” (National Bohemian) and eating crab guts.

By getting it so right in the details, *The Wire* manages to transcend locale and lay claim to being something larger: a seminar on the American city, and a stark reminder that despite all the happy cities-are-back talk of the newsweeklies, not that much has changed in the neighborhoods we’ve decided to stop worrying about. And the seminar is delivered via characters real enough to reach through the screen and shake the viewer with their malice, their bungling, their good intentions gone awry, and, at least, their heroism.

The Wire’s new ad campaign is “No Corner Left Behind”; the show burns its picture of the No Child Left Behind Act into the viewer’s brain with acid.

“If they’re still using cell phones in this day and age, they’re mine.”

—A detective bragging to his colleagues about his wiretapping skills on *The Wire*

THE WIRE BOASTS A POWERFUL CENTRAL metaphor: the wiretap. Intercepting and interpreting secrets is a key element in the show’s criminal investigations, but it also helps measure the sophistication of the violent drug dealers being hunted by the cops. By the end of *The Wire*’s third season, the interplay between a cunning dealer named Stringer Bell (Idris Elba) and the cops who chase him is so byzantine that the police must pull his elusive mobile number from a cell-phone tower. Later, when Bell is murdered, investigators discover that he possessed dozens of cell-phone chips—and the discipline to use them after every call.

As the show has expanded its ambit, it has placed metaphorical wiretaps into other areas of urban life—City Hall, union locals, and the Board of Education (dubbed “the Puzzle Palace” by beleaguered teachers and principals). Season two captured the death of the Baltimore docks and its unions with exquisitely

painful detail and bumptious color. When the ports at last are filled with robots instead of working stevedores, *The Wire* may be as much of a documentary of that vanished lifestyle—its nicknames and noble labor and boozy camaraderie—as we possess. The third season focused on the hopes and hazards of drug legalization, drawing politicians scheming to stay (or to become) Baltimore’s mayor into the plot line. And the new, fourth season juggles the blood sports of drugs and politics with a third element: a public school system that cannot keep kids safe, let alone educate them. We see the usual tales of poverty, parental neglect, and drug connections carried into the classroom; but Simon

and his writers toss in two brilliant and much less predictable twists that are neatly encapsulated in the HBO advertising campaign for the fourth season: “No Corner Left Behind.”

The first is a brutal portrait of how schools fail to compete with the dealers who crowd neighborhood corners. Drug dealers identify and corral young talent far more quickly and efficiently than teachers and administrators. Early in the season, a ruthless dealer named Marlo points out a neighborhood kid and observes that “there are good signs on that one.” His cold-blooded lieutenant chimes in: “Big paws on the puppy.”

The second twist on the familiar theme of failing schools is intimated in the ad campaign. Simon and his team burn their picture of the No Child Left Behind Act—and the small-minded obsession with testing that accompanies it—into the viewer’s brain with acid. As the state’s proficiency test approaches, the creativity and flexibility of teachers and principals narrows to the dimensions of a circle on a multiple choice test. Once again, the human story is reduced to statistics that obscure reality—and snatch away opportunity.

D’Angelo: “The pawns, man, in the game, they get capped quick. They be out the game early.”

Bodie: “Unless they some smart ass pawns.”

—A street dealer discusses chess with his protégé on *The Wire*

MANY GLOWING REVIEWS OF *THE Wire*’s fourth season have compared it to a novel. Its plot twists, deft foreshadowing, and loose strings tied up—or left untied—at season’s end justify such a comparison. (That critical halo also prompted HBO to announce the show’s renewal for a fifth and final season.)

On TV’s cottage industry shows such as *CSI* and *Law and Order*, characters rarely grow or learn. They win (mostly), lose (occasionally), and tend to encounter no terminus in character arc save through being written out in contract disputes or series cancellation. In *The Wire*, the stakes are higher. Human life is cancelled at a startling clip. Fate intervenes for ill more than good. The actions of people, acts of commission or omission, do matter. For instance, Simon took considerable heat from fans of the series for killing off the popular character Stringer Bell at the end of *The Wire*’s third season. But that death helped the series make a much larger point about how attempts to change the status quo of America’s failed drug war are resisted by both sides in that conflict.

In the third season, Bell’s quest to transform the drug trade into a peaceful co-op market without violence finally comes to fruition. But it ultimately fails when it clashes with the ambitions of other drug lords—including his partner, Avon Barksdale (Wood Harris)—who sees violence as an essential tool of the trade. During that same third season, a rogue police lieutenant hatches and enacts a secret plan to legalize drugs in a discarded corner of his district. His goal is to bring peace and order to the rest of his neighborhoods, but his drug zone (dubbed “Hamsterdam” by the dealers) is squashed by his bosses, who demand his demotion and public humiliation.

Simon shows how powerful forces on both sides of the drug war have a

vested interest in its violent status quo—and that those forces will use that violence to crush change. But addressing lofty themes never dulls *The Wire*'s portrait of the human cost of urban problems. Its characters—their mixture of courage, folly, and flaw—are the spine of the series. And through *The Wire*, we are allowed to listen in to what they have to say. At one point in the fourth season, a dealer talks about his life in the drug trade as a loyal soldier, using language that winds back to the chess metaphor that *The Wire* introduced in the first season.

"This game is rigged, man," he says. "We like the little bitches on the chess board." "Pawns," his companion replies.

The pawns and kingpins of *The Wire* are the voices of the urban despair and decay upon which our metropolitan renaissances rest all too uneasily. They are the wiretapped voices that might clue us in if we listen closely. **TAP**

Richard Byrne is an editor at the Chronicle of Higher Education. His work has appeared in The Washington Post, Foreign Policy, Time.com, and Biblioteka Alexandria.

BOOKS

THE NEW OPEN SOCIETY

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Yale University Press, 520 pages, \$40.00

BY JEDEDIAH PURDY

INTERNET UTOPIANISM CAN SEEM so 1998. The future was silicon in the late Clinton years, when government was flatlining in petty scandal and technology stocks seemed to rise exponentially. Not only was anything possible: If you believed the mavens of *Wired* magazine and assorted other cyberprophets, pretty much anything was inevitable. Soon, they assured us, people would spend more time in virtual communities than in "meatspace." Politics would be transformed by the universal pamphleteering of Netizens. Oh, and some of us would go all the way and upload our consciousness into mainframes to live forever as data. The new world might or might not be brave, but it was certainly weird.

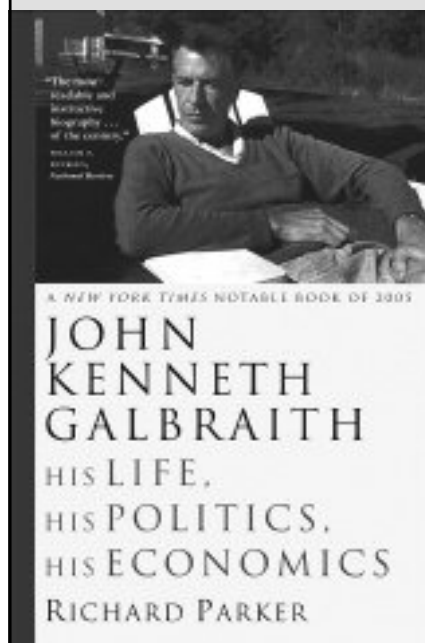
The future has not quite lived up to its billing, which is what Cass Sunstein would have expected. Sunstein, a polymath law professor at the University of Chicago, responded to some of these wide-eyed forecasts in his 2002 book, *Republic.com*, in which he argued that the Internet polarized politics and frag-

mented cultural life by creating echo chambers of the loud and likeminded: partisan media, howling blogs, and news selected to reinforce solipsism and narcissism—"the Daily Me." In *Infotopia* he has followed up that skeptical broadside with a survey of the evidence on how information technology affects political debate and institutional decision making. The result is a vivid, readable, and informative work of empiricist skepticism—a show-me-the-money guide to what soars and what stumbles from the stable of Internet dreams.

Yochai Benkler, who teaches law at Yale, has written a very different book. *The Wealth of Networks* is Internet utopianism for grown-ups. Benkler's sprawling argument sums up years of work on the economics, sociology, and politics of information technology. He is interested in the world that exists mostly for what it shows about what might be—a charitable definition of the utopian temper. His book is one part introduction to a vast and rapidly growing field of technology, economics, and law, and one part an ob-

"No one can write about contemporary economics, politics, diplomacy, wit, satire, and phrase-making without taking John Kenneth Galbraith into just account, and Richard Parker is the ideal biographer."

—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.



"I was initially skeptical about the book's 820 pages . . . but every detail is justified and every digression fascinating. . . . Reading Parker's comprehensive account of the 20th century's economic battles, I can't help thinking that this ought to be Galbraith's moment."

—Thomas Frank,
New York Times Book Review

"Wonderfully rendered. . . .

Offers an antidote to the public ennui, economic cruelty, and government malfeasance that poison life in America today."—*Boston Globe*

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ject lesson in the place of utopian hopes in mature liberal thought. Benkler makes a strong case that we disown utopianism at our peril. In making that argument, he develops a liberal and realistic version of utopian thinking that avoids some of the hazards of the approach.

The scope of Sunstein's book is narrower than its sweeping title might suggest. His theme is twofold: the fact that

group is more likely to have the right answer than a wrong one—even only very slightly more likely—than in a group vote, the majority is quite likely to reach the right answer. As the size of the group grows, the likelihood of a right answer approaches a mathematical certainty. The same results hold even if some members are likely to be wrong, so long as the rest are a little more likely to be right. In short,

things. And, dismayingly, the Jury Theorem works in reverse. If individuals are overall more likely to be wrong than right, as the size of the group grows a wrong answer from a majority vote approaches mathematical certainty. The challenge, then, is to find a way of bringing together dispersed information that sorts good information from bad, instead of just amplifying it as voting does.

The challenge is to bring together dispersed information in a way that sorts good from bad, instead of just amplifying it as voting does.

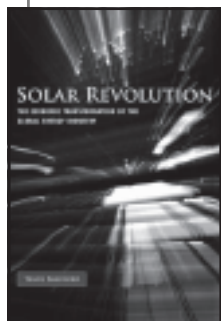
valuable information is dispersed among many different people and the problem of how to combine it to make it useful. His starting point is the Jury Theorem, a mathematical proof that originated with the 18th-century philosopher Condorcet. The theorem envisions a group, such as a jury, trying to answer a question. Condorcet showed that if each member of the

groups are much smarter than their members, even their very smart members. A vote by any group of people not basically ignorant or confused is a mathematically reliable machine for generating right answers.

So, why don't we vote on everything? For one thing, lots of people turn out to be ignorant or confused about lots of

There are two basic strategies for gathering and sifting dispersed information, and both have inspired some Internet utopianism. The first is markets: Markets "set" prices and production levels by taking account of the preferences of hundreds of millions of otherwise unconnected individuals, expressed purely in decisions to pay or not to pay a particular price. This is better than, say, voting on production levels, not just because voting would be complex, but also because market signals are particularly reliable expressions of preferences precisely because money is at stake. It's cheap to say that you'd like

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to see more Lamborghinis produced, as many 19-year-old male voters likely would if asked. It's another thing to pony up the purchase price.

"Prediction markets" attempt to apply these virtues of markets to gathering other kinds of information. Participants in prediction markets bet on questions as various as whether (and when) there will be another terrorist attack in the United States, who will be the next president, and (in an internal market organized among Microsoft employees) when a new product will be ready for launch. The rules of the markets vary, but the basic idea is that participants win big if they are right and (in most cases) lose something if they are wrong. Moreover, they can generally choose the size of their bet, depending how likely they think they are to be right. Markets can therefore elicit and amplify good information and silence (by punishing) bad information. Results for presidential elections have been closer to the actual result than most polls, and Microsoft has accurately reset launch dates by months as internal prediction markets revealed that announced targets were unrealistic. But, of course, markets are subject to speculative bubbles and frenzies: Imagine setting anti-terrorism policy on the public-policy equivalent of the 1998 NASDAQ.

The other basic model, much beloved of some reformers and political theorists, is deliberation: drawing out everyone's information through dialogue as a group presses toward a decision. Here Sunstein is a skeptic. In some experiments, deliberating groups do worse at solving problems than groups that vote blind. In others, they do worse than the best-informed members would do by themselves. Clearly the best information does not reliably get recognized. Groupthink seems to be the culprit. Sometimes people defer to charismatic or outspoken group members or to the perceived drift of the group, even to the point of withholding valuable information rather than mark themselves as dissenters. Sometimes the group emphasizes information everyone has—redundant information—which looms large simply because every-



Everyone a Creator: Jimmy Wales, Wikimedia's founder and president

one knows it, and so eclipses important information that just one or two members have. All this is a reminder of why the secret ballot was such an important reform in 19th-century America: Social pressure can override individual judgment for reasons unrelated to the merits of the question. Sunstein spends time discussing blogs and other new forms of Internet-based political debate, and finds them analogous to formal deliberating groups: The groups sometimes elicit important information and reach good judgments, and sometimes produce bullies and mobs.

There is no panacea, so the trick is to build a better megabyte trap. For prediction markets, enlist people likely to have information about problems that involve both a lot of uncertainty and a lot of relevant, dispersed information. Avoid wildly speculative topics like major terrorist attacks. For deliberation, set up rules that encourage people to share all the information they have and try to neutralize social advantages from outside—say, by assigning participants advocacy roles in the debate. Deliberate over technical problems, where the right answer will become clear when someone generates it, rather than over more speculative issues, where groupthink can override the

merits. (Of course, this is why we have civil engineers for technical problems and encyclopedias for disputes of fact, which leaves a little unclear where deliberation should make its contribution.)

Yochai Benkler argues that information technology can change not just some of our decision making, but everything we do. His most innovative argument is about economic life. He claims that the capital requirements of producing industrial-age goods pressed production into centralized, hierarchical systems, whether governments or firms. The cheapness and power of information technology, however, mean that in areas such as film, music, publishing, and information processing, those vast capital concentrations are no longer necessary. Anyone with some gadgets and the right software can do something surprisingly close to what recently required a huge infrastructure in Hollywood, Manhattan, or Nashville.

In remixes, mash-ups, and online volunteer projects such as mapping the terrain of Mars from fragmented satellite images, people are becoming makers as well as consumers. Sometimes they produce idiosyncratic but vivid—or tedious—stuff. At other times they

produce real value, as with open-source software, the codes maintained by a loose network of volunteers and part-timers who power much of the world's information processing.

"Everyone a Creator" seems to be Benkler's first slogan for an economy based on cheap and powerful information technology. The second is "Share Nicely." Just as we can now make valuable—or at least entertaining—stuff in our spare time, we can share it almost costlessly with whomever might be interested or link it up with someone else's similarly quirky project. The new universe of free downloads is one instance of sharing, from Web-based music distribution centers to YouTube. A phenomenon that unites voluntary production with open access is Wikipedia, a free, open-source online encyclopedia, which at the time of writing has more than 1.3 million English-language articles written "collaboratively by its readers," most with an interest or expertise they burn to share. Wikipedia is sometimes lampooned for here-and-there factual errors (the satirical *Onion* recently reported the Wikipedians' celebration of the 750th anniversary of American independence, which made the United States "212 years older than the Eiffel Tower, 347 years older than the earliest-known woolly-mammoth fossil, and a full 493 years older than the microwave oven"), but it is nonetheless both a useful resource and a terrific achievement. Such sharing is normal among family and friends, particularly when we have something we can hand over without losing much ourselves. What is new is both the quantity of stuff that costs nothing to share and access to billions of people who might be interested in it.

Benkler believes voluntary production, often tied to sharing, is emerging as a major mode of economic life, alongside markets and hierarchically organized production. He has enough examples to prove it in entertainment and some elite technological sectors. So, why should anyone else care? First, Benkler argues, because it is intrinsically good to be able to use more of your capabilities—to create and share as well as make a living, or even to make a living partly by creating and

sharing. Second, improved technologies for sharing valuable information could spur scientific research as they already have software production and culture. Schemes are afoot to "open source" large segments of basic scientific knowledge to facilitate research on neglected diseases and other problems that markets neglect because they mainly affect the world's poor. If they succeed, these models could reduce the cost of important biomedical, pharmaceutical, and other research without compromising the basic integrity of the patent system that fosters innovation. Third, the kinds of people who habitually revise, comment on, and add to their cultural setting may be more critical and engaged citizens, if competence, initiative, and collaboration in cultural life affect the way people engage in politics.

Benkler is no technological determinist. He argues that new forms of production can grow beyond their elite and eccentric ghettos, but that they need our

help. Law and policy can facilitate new forms of production and sharing or they can get in the way, as the expansion and strengthening of copyright law has done in the last 15 years. And that, the argument goes, is precisely why we need thinkers who contemplate the outermost possibilities of new technologies, even if their forecasts sometimes go awry. Those forecasts aren't mere predictions, but proposals about what might be if people choose to pursue it. What the prophets of 1998 missed was that sometimes technology ensures only the opportunity for positive change. The rest is up to the political imagination, where Benkler's visionary enthusiasm and Sunstein's skeptical caution belong together. **TAP**

Jedediah Purdy, the author of For Common Things and Being America, teaches law at Duke University and is currently an ethics fellow at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

BOOKS

WHAT IT WILL TAKE

BUILDING RED AMERICA: THE NEW CONSERVATIVE COALITION AND THE DRIVE FOR PERMANENT POWER BY THOMAS B. EDSALL Basic Books, 320 pages, \$26.00

THE GREAT RISK SHIFT: THE ASSAULT ON AMERICAN JOBS, FAMILIES, HEALTH CARE, AND RETIREMENT, AND HOW YOU CAN FIGHT BACK BY JACOB S. HACKER Oxford University Press, 240 pages, \$26.00

BY ROBERT KUTTNER

THESE ARE THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT books on American politics to appear this year, maybe in many a year. Together, they contain the material that should prod liberals and Democrats to think through a revival of both first principles and political tactics. But Tom Edsall's careful analysis, a real downer for Democrats, suggests that this will be a heavy lift indeed.

Building Red America is a reportorial and analytic tour de force on how Republicans and conservatives, despite their lack of a broad popular mandate, have out-organized Democrats and liberals. Edsall is dazzling on both the big picture and on new, revealing details on the ide-

ological, organizational, and coalitional disparities between the two parties. Thus:

[U]nless the Democratic Party finds a way to defeat Republican 'wedge issue' strategies, radically improves its organizational foundations, resolves its internal divisions on national security, formulates a compelling position on the use of force, addresses the schisms generated by its stands on moral, racial, and cultural issues, develops the capacity to turn Republican positions on socio-cultural issues into a liability, devises a [plausible] economic program ... the odds are that the Republican Party will continue to maintain, over the long term, a thin but durable margin of victory.

The conventional view among political scientists and political strategists has long held that successful politicians, especially in presidential politics, must move to the center to appeal to the elusive “median voter.” George W. Bush, as the Republican governor who worked well with Democrats in the Texas Legislature, was perfectly positioned. The rhetoric of his 2000 campaign, reflecting Karl Rove’s strategy, portrayed him as “a uniter, not a divider.” Though a conservative, Bush played down divisive social issues, signaling that he respected gays as “God’s children,” indicated that he disliked abortion but would not give the “litmus test” to *Roe v. Wade*, called for an expanded federal role in education, and even declared that he would not “balance the budget on the backs of the poor.”

But then a key Republican operative, Bush pollster Matt Dowd, sent a memo to Rove that upended the conventional wisdom. This became the blueprint for a radically different strategy of energizing the hard-core base. Analyzing the 2000 electorate, Dowd concluded that most presumed swing voters “are independent in name only.” America was hardening into red and blue camps, and the conservative base was angrier and easier to mobilize than its liberal counterpart. Therefore, Dowd persuaded Rove, Republicans could eke out majorities by rallying the base and ignoring the center except at the level of soothing rhetoric.

In office, Bush used his presidency to reward the base—the seemingly anomalous twin bases of the religious right and the corporate elite. This included funding for religious provision of social services and coded references to religious-right themes, as well as literally trillions of dollars for the corporate and individual elite in tax breaks, privatization, and government spending for the drug, insurance, military-contracting, and energy industries. It was patronage taken to a whole new level. This strategy capped four decades of movement-building on the conservative side.

As Edsall explains, unlike the improbable GOP alliance between Main Street fundamentalists and Wall Street sophis-

ticates, the Democrats’ unlikely alliance of an economically stressed working and middle class with an economic elite of social liberals doesn’t jell. The “well-educated, culturally libertarian, relatively affluent progressive elite forms a minority of the Democratic electorate and a substantially smaller minority of the national electorate,” Edsall warns, but that elite “sets the agenda” for the party. The

economic lifeline, and the epidemic of divorce, promiscuity, and out-of-wedlock birth supposedly promoted by a liberal cultural elite is seen as threatening livelihoods as well as “values.”

The book, however, has its blemishes. Edsall agrees with Dowd that swing voters are almost nonexistent, but at another point he declares that Democrats are heavily dependent on them. He puts

In office Bush used the presidency to reward both the religious right and the corporate elite. It was patronage taken to a new level.

result is too much emphasis on social liberalism, not enough on economic populism, and a white working class that increasingly defects to Republicans. This sounds like Tom Frank, but Edsall disagrees with Frank that the cultural can be divided from the economic. He shrewdly observes that for social conservatives many cultural issues *are* economic: The traditional family is considered an eco-

too much emphasis on the damage done by the support for causes like affirmative action, abortion, and gay rights, and not enough on the absence of a compelling economic vision, or what one might look like.

Hacker’s *The Great Risk Shift* addresses the underdeveloped part of Edsall’s book: What exactly is going on economically with the vast working mid-



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dle class? How might its pocketbook distress be turned to the advantage of progressive Democrats? Hacker's is one of those prescient books that names and anatomizes a potent, ubiquitous trend that has been hidden in plain view.

His subject is the shift back to individuals of economic risks that, for two generations, had been borne substantially by government and paternalistic corporations—most obviously health care and reliable traditional pensions. But as Hacker astutely points out, the risk shift doesn't stop there. Americans are dramatically more likely to lose their jobs, and to suffer wide swings in incomes.

"And yet what do our political leaders tell us?" he writes. "They tell us that we need to take 'ownership' of our economic future, giving up the security of [social] insurance in favor of individualized private accounts that leave us at the mercy of market instabilities precisely when we need stability."

Hacker rediscovers and updates an insight that was once commonly accepted. It is insurance against unforeseen risks that gives the people the self-confidence to take entrepreneurial risks. Hacker's program is ingenious and expansive. It includes expanding Medicare gradually to the whole population and legislating what Hacker slyly calls a universal 401(k) system. But under Hacker's plan "government would automatically turn workers' 401(k) accounts into lifetime guaranteed income at age 65." In other words, Hacker appropriates the 401(k) label, which describes a wholly inadequate system of individual tax-deferred savings accounts that can run out of money, and turns it into expanded social insurance. Hacker also proposes what he terms "universal insurance" to go far beyond unemployment compensation and protect American workers and families against income volatility.

One quibble: Part of his final chapter reads more like a how-to book (perhaps the advice of his publisher's marketing department). He spends several pages sounding less like a policy strategist or political analyst and more like a modern Polonius, advising families how to thriftily survive the new environment of shifted risks. His advice is sound, but it

unfortunately reinforces the dominant narrative that the rest of the book challenges—you are on your own.

What's also missing is a discussion of the politics of Hacker's shrewd policy prescription. Expanded social insurance aimed at both security and mobility is just the right antidote to the absent economic message that Edsall rightly decries. But the Hacker prescription will be expensive. As Edsall and others like Princeton political scientist Larry Bartels and Harvard's Theda Skocpol have observed, Republicans have been so successful at disparaging progressive taxation and affirmative government (and Democrats so feeble at defending them) that it will take uncommon leadership to make "tax and invest" politically plausi-

ble again. This could usefully be the subject of Hacker's next book—or someone's.

In fairness, in a season when half the nonfiction shelf seems to be primers on how to fix the Democrats, Hacker did not intend *The Great Risk Shift* as a road map for party politics. His book deserves the widest possible audience, for having nailed the most powerful and underappreciated economic trend of our era, thereby inviting a discussion of the political opportunities. But the challenge of restoring to respectability middle-class populism financed by progressive taxation is a lot harder than designing new forms of social insurance. If someone doesn't rise to that challenge, Edsall's pessimism about the future dominance of the Republican right will be all too prophetic. **TAP**

BOOKS

HOW CAPITALISM WORKS NOW

THE DISPOSABLE AMERICAN: LAYOFFS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

BY LOUIS UCHITELLE Alfred A. Knopf, 283 pages, \$25.95

ALL TOGETHER NOW: COMMON SENSE FOR A FAIR ECONOMY

BY JARED BERNSTEIN Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 154 pages, \$12.00

AMERICA BACK ON TRACK BY SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

Viking, 210 pages, \$24.95

BY HAROLD MEYERSON

WHEN IT COMES TO THE FUNDAMENTALS of our new-model economy, even the definitions of common words have changed for the worse. As recently as 1989, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defined "layoff" as a temporary dismissal. But in the years since then, as the permanent layoff became a pillar of contemporary business practices, it was the *OED*'s definition that proved to be provisional.

That point about changing usage comes from *The Disposable American*, Louis Uchitelle's important new study of the growing instability of employment in the United States. The literature on the laissez-faire capitalism of the past quarter-century doesn't lack for withering critiques, but Uchitelle's book provides the first in-depth look at what may be the new capitalism's most depressing mani-

festation: the layoff—its rise, scope, and consequences. It is a measure of how injured we have become to this life-diminishing practice that Uchitelle's account of the pre-1975 economy reads like an account of some pre-lapsarian world we have all but forgotten.

Yet it was only in 1984 that the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) began to tally what it termed "worker displacements." Beginning with the railroads in the 1880s, large- and mid-sized American employers had once placed a premium on a stable workforce. Peter Drucker's seminal *The Practice of Management*, published in 1954, attributed the success of IBM—the Microsoft and Google of its day—to the high morale of company employees, resulting in large part from the virtually lifetime security of an IBM job.

By the late 1970s, however, American business began to change. The nation's CEOs began letting their workers go as the economy moved into lower gear, foreign competitors began to underprice American manufacturers, Wall Street began to call the tune on Main Street, and unions grew too small and sclerotic to protect their own. The CEO who led the way, Uchitelle reminds us, was General Electric's Jack Welch, who laid off one out of four GE employees—118,000 in all—between 1981 and 1985. GE wasn't suffering the torments of steel manufacturers, which were being wiped out by cheap imports, but Welch (in those years nicknamed Neutron Jack after the bomb that spared structures but killed people) was on a quest to boost share value by

While each has a different story, they all suffered a major loss of self-esteem and decline in income in their subsequent job or consulting gig—if they landed one at all. He cites a survey showing that roughly two-thirds of workers who lost their jobs were working two years later, and only 40 percent of those employed (that is, 25 percent of the entire laid-off cohort) were making as much as they'd made in their previous jobs. Of the more than 800 laid-off United Airlines mechanics whom Uchitelle studied, only 185 were working one year after their discharge, and most of the 185, who had made \$31 an hour at United, were pulling down between \$14 and \$20 an hour in their new jobs.

In the all-but-forgotten Keynesian

Not long ago “layoff” meant temporary dismissal. Now layoffs are permanent, and many workers who get laid off never find as good a job.

lowering wage costs. In time, Welch became the most highly regarded corporate chief of his generation.

How many Americans have fallen prey to applied Welchism? Extrapolating from BLS figures, Uchitelle calculates that between 1984 and 2004 roughly 30 million Americans were laid off, a total that doesn't include workers who took early retirement or buyouts because their employers were downsizing. If those workers are factored in, Uchitelle estimates, the number of displaced American workers nearly doubles. In a *New York Times* article that appeared after the publication of his book, Uchitelle reported that 13 percent of American men between the ages of 30 and 55 had dropped out of the job market. In the late 1960s, that figure stood at 5 percent. He noted a comparable evolution in the European Union and Japan as well—suggesting that the problem extends beyond the distinctively harsh American form of capitalism.

Much of Uchitelle's book traces the post-layoff odysseys of a broad range of employees—United Airlines machinists, a banker, a Proctor & Gamble executive, the editor in chief of a publishing house.

past, the federal government had seen its role as providing at least some stimulus for employment as the job market weakened. Indeed, government-guaranteed full employment was on several occasions a key battle cry of modern liberalism—once, just before the postwar boom took off, with the Full Employment Bill of 1946, and again, as the postwar boom petered out, with the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill of 1977. Both bills initially obliged the government to provide jobs until a specified low level of unemployment was reached, but both were ultimately watered down to the point where they obliged the government to generate no jobs whatsoever. Then, in 1982, the government's discrete and smaller employment programs were scrapped in favor of a new program that provided retraining to a fraction of the new legions of laid-off workers. The great higher-skills-can-save-us scam had begun.

Uchitelle chronicles the retraining programs in which the United machinists, and other workers he followed, enrolled. He documents how these programs actually led these workers to



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lower-skilled, and almost always lower-paying, work. The real point of these programs, he concludes, is to “channel the unemployed into the unfilled jobs that do exist.”

Both Uchitelle and Jared Bernstein, in his new book *All Together Now*, note that this shift from job creation to job training as the government’s response to unemployment places the blame for the structural changes in capitalism on the individual’s lack of skills. Bernstein’s book—and he is the sprightliest writer working in the dismal science since the heyday of John Kenneth Galbraith and Robert Lekachman—is one mid-length salvo at the dominant tendency in economic thinking, which denies any role for a collective response to a collective problem.

As both Uchitelle and Bernstein document, the Clinton administration, no less than the preceding and following Bush administrations, preached the gospel of education and retraining as the answer to the job loss from trade and

globalization. Both authors as well as Senator Ted Kennedy in his new book, *America Back on Track*—a clear statement of the liberal world view at a moment when such statements are desperately needed—affirm the value of a more educated work force, but also call for more managed trade policies and public employment programs. Kennedy has long argued—rightly—that environmentalism, far from being a job killer, can be a major job creator, and makes a compelling case for the Apollo Alliance, a proposal to create three million new jobs retrofitting America.

Uchitelle and Bernstein have produced important contributions to the liberal economic discourse—though I’m compelled to point out one Bernstein error: In footnote one to chapter one, the *Washington Post* columnist cited spells his name “Meyerson,” not “Myerson.” That slip aside, these two very different works are valuable exposés of the cruelty and dysfunctionality of our high-gloss, high-tech, workers-be-damned capitalism. **TAP**

BOOKS

A REPUBLIC, IF WE CAN BUILD IT

POLARIZED AMERICA: THE DANCE OF IDEOLOGY AND UNEQUAL RICHES

BY NOLAN MCCARTY, KEITH T. POOLE, AND HOWARD ROSENTHAL

MIT Press, 240 pages, \$35.00

L.A. STORY: IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND THE FUTURE OF THE U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT BY RUTH MILKMAN Russell Sage Foundation, 264 pages, \$24.95

BY RICHARD N. VALELLY

IN THE FACE OF PRONOUNCED INCOME and wealth inequality, how has the Bush administration been able to promote an economic program that deepens inequality? The Republicans have enacted regressive tax cuts, sought to privatize Social Security, given free rein to Wall Street, and showered wasteful subsidies on defense contractors, pharmaceutical manufacturers, and oil and insurance companies. Surely, in a democracy, this all must be bad politics.

Maybe it’s because the GOP hasn’t played by the rules, extending roll calls far beyond congressional norms, repressing black and student votes in Ohio, and in-

serting the executive into the legislative branch in unprecedented ways. Maybe Thomas Frank is right that social issues have crowded out pocketbook issues and that Karl Rove has succeeded in switching the subject to national security.

But none of this quite explains voter passivity in the face of rising inequality. Why are more voters not disgusted with Bushonomics?

Princeton’s Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole of the University of California at San Diego, and Howard Rosenthal of New York University mount a technically advanced and powerful analysis in *Polarized America*. Inequality and political po-

larization, they show, have been steadily building since the mid-1970s, reinforcing each other. The Bush administration's policies are less a break from the past than an intensification of the status quo.

As they demonstrate, income inequality has grown least among regularly participating voters. It has done the most damage at the bottom end of the income scale, where both immigrants and citizens are less likely to vote. A voter backlash, by definition, has to come from voters. Not surprisingly, Republicans have pushed voter-identification legislation to discourage lower-income voting and promoted a policy to make immigrants wait 17 years for the right to vote.

McCarty and colleagues have devised highly reliable ideological scores that document the growing divide between the two parties, mainly due to the GOP's shift to the right. Polarization is not an artifact of congressional districting, nor of legislative despotism, symbolized by the bullwhip that Tom DeLay kept in his majority leader suite. Instead, Republican constituencies have appeared where they never existed, particularly in the South, and all of them have become more ideologically conservative.

What all of that means is that the Bush administration's policies have served the center of the Republican Party and *its* interests, but not the electoral center. Republicans have gotten away with this because those hurt the most tend not to vote or cannot vote.

In a chapter worth the book's price, the authors show that astronomical gains for the very wealthiest have opened up opportunities for the "passionate rich" to invest in the ideological extremes. The "swift-boating" of Kerry was not an aberration; it is the new status quo. Democratic victories and policies, if and when they happen, will certainly activate a right-wing backlash.

Would America be better off with a "centrist" coalition via divided government, as under Clinton? In a sobering conclusion, the authors show that divided government is actually worse. Legislative stalemate paradoxically increases the power of the presidency and hurts the poor, who are left to fend for themselves

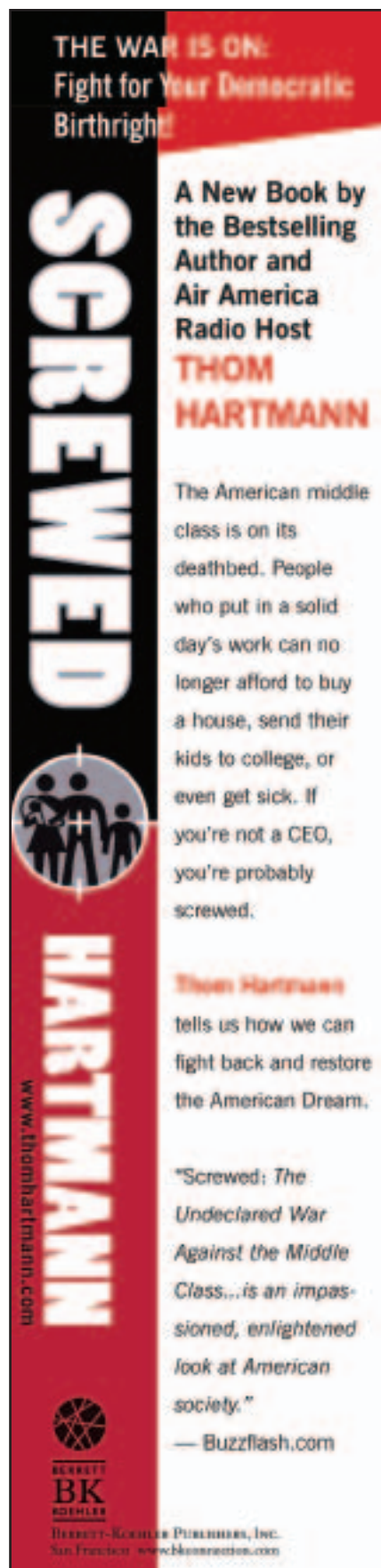
as government freezes up. For example, McCarty and colleagues demonstrate that states with Democratic governors and Republican legislatures, other things equal, have the least generous welfare programs.

The time-tested antidote to this sort of stalemate is increased participation of lower-income Americans. A superb, readable study by Ruth Milkman, a sociologist at the University of California, Los Angeles, assesses immigrant mobilization through social-movement unionism. For McCarty and his colleagues, the influx of immigrants sustains overall inequality; in Milkman's account, immigrants become catalysts of civic engagement.

Milkman locates her story in Los Angeles, which offers both hopeful signs and cautionary lessons. Although she isn't the first to call attention to the Latino-labor alliance [See Harold Meyerson, "A Tale of Two Cities," *TAP*, June 2004], she adds historical depth, archival research, dozens of interviews, and a subtle argument about union capacities. Most important, she addresses the conditions under which *durable* organization is most likely.

Milkman's careful comparison among four organizing cases leads her to conclude that "bottom-up" militancy, reminiscent of the great strikes of 1934 and 1937, is, by itself, inadequate. Likewise, "top-down" organizing of employers by aggressive leaders will also fizzle. For instance, a "corporate campaign" to organize Guess, Inc., began well, but management simply outgunned, outmaneuvered, and outspent the garment workers union once the company decided to punch back. There was no alliance with workers on the ground for the union to fall back on.

Rank-and-file heroism is not, however, in short supply. Latino (and for that matter Asian) immigrants quickly display exceptional solidarity because they are already highly organized by (among other things) kinship, language, religious affiliation, and a dense infrastructure of neighborhood associations. And the kinds of labor markets they live in are hellish and Hobbesian. But their demand for decent conditions, Milkman concludes, must be matched to two things: wholehearted commitment from the international, whether it be the Carpenters, the



Teamsters, or SEIU, and the international's thorough development of a fully budgeted and staffed plan for organization that pragmatically circumvents elections via the National Labor Relations Board. The deck is too stacked against success for anything less. When the combination works, though, a remarkable sense of opportunity opens up for the participants, as when the Carpenters organized immigrant drywallers.

Labor's premature epitaph has been written more than once. But a renewed union movement could be the instrument of mass electoral enfranchisement—and in the process it would help to restore the kind of social contract that we once had. McCarty, Poole, and Rosenthal show what one path forward is; Milkman gives us a glimpse of another. **TAP**

Richard N. Valelly is professor of political science at Swarthmore College and author of *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).

BOOKS

THE IMPERIAL KLUTZ

OVERTHROW: AMERICA'S CENTURY OF REGIME CHANGE FROM HAWAII TO IRAQ BY STEPHEN KINZER Times Books, 384 pages, \$27.50

BY LAWRENCE KORB

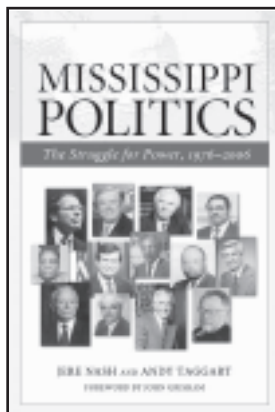
A FAMILIARITY WITH THE HISTORY that Stephen Kinzer recounts in his well-written and compelling new book *Overthrow* would go a long way toward introducing some necessary caution in American foreign policy. Beginning with the Philippines just over a century ago and continuing down to the Iraq War, Kinzer's study reminds us of a long line of regime changes gone wrong. The current fiasco in Iraq, he argues, has been the result of two mistaken beliefs on the part of the Bush administration: first, that the U.S. force would be greeted as liberators; and, second, that once the United States removed the artificial bar-

riers imposed by dictatorship, Iraq would readily adopt Western-style democracy. Even a cursory knowledge of the history of past interventions might have raised questions about those assumptions.

"What happened in Iraq," the British historian Niall Ferguson wrote in 2004 in words quoted by Kinzer, "so closely resembles the events of 1920 [when the British tried to subdue Iraq after World War I] that only a historical ignoramus can be surprised."

Well, we may have a few of those in Washington.

Kinzer divides his book into three parts. The first concerns what he calls the "impe-



Mississippi Politics The Struggle for Power, 1976-2006

By Jere Nash and Andy Taggart
Foreword by John Grisham

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By Sandra Gurvis

"The struggle between good and evil never ceases, so we try to make things better. But when we resolve the Iraqi problem, there will be another, and still another. It's ever thus, and I'm grateful to have been a part of it." —Ossie Davis (1917-2005), actor and activist

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It Seemed Easy: A U.S.-engineered coup in Iran in 1953 put the Shah in power. For a while.

rial era,” lasting from 1893, when the United States overthrew the Queen of Hawaii, to 1911, when we forced the president of Honduras into exile. This section also recounts U.S. interventions in Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War. In the second part of the book, Kinzer looks at the four regime changes that the CIA engineered during the Cold War in Iran, Guatemala, South Vietnam, and Chile. The final section addresses the four invasions carried out by the last three Republican presidents: Grenada, Panama, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

Most of these operations, in Kinzer’s view, have undermined our long-term security. For example, by overturning Iran’s democracy in 1953 and installing the Shah, we contributed to the revolution that brought bitterly anti-American clerics to power and inspired Islamic radicals around the world.

Kinzer concludes his work on a gloomy note, arguing that although diplomatic and political approaches would be more effective, the United States will likely continue to intervene militarily to overturn regimes, even though we will often continue to be at a loss about what to do afterward.

The book does suffer from three shortcomings. First, while Kinzer gives an excellent account of U.S. motivations, his analysis of the target countries is incomplete. The United States certainly had its own reasons, for example, for wanting to get rid of President Ngo Diem of South

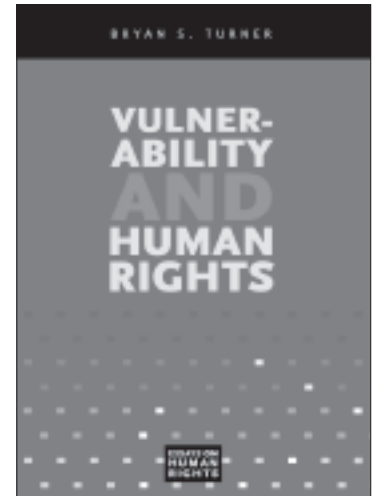
Vietnam in 1963, but South Vietnam’s generals and most of its people also wanted him removed. What actually happened was that the generals who murdered Diem and his brother manipulated the United States for their own ends.

Second, Kinzer fails to distinguish carefully enough between U.S. interventions that were motivated primarily by economic concerns, such as Cuba and Guatemala, and interventions driven by legitimate national-security interests, such as Afghanistan.

And, third, this book focuses so much on the short-term negative consequences of intervention that Kinzer does not give sufficient attention to what, in some cases, were positive long-term results. The invasion of Panama had plenty of problems, but Panama now has a democratically elected government.

These shortcomings, however, do not detract from Kinzer’s message that American policy-makers should do a systematic and scrupulous analysis before intervening abroad. As the current situation in Iraq demonstrates, overthrowing a regime may be the easy part; even short-term gains can be overwhelmed by later costs. **TAP**

Lawrence Korb, senior fellow at the Center for American Progress, is the author of numerous books on defense and foreign policy. He served as assistant secretary of defense in the Reagan administration.



VULNERABILITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Bryan S. Turner

“Bryan Turner’s *Vulnerability and Human Rights* is a concise but wide-ranging discussion of cutting-edge themes in sociology, seen through the prism and oriented toward the realization of the human rights paradigm. Avoiding foundationalist fallacies, it seeks to establish a grounding for the idea of human rights in our unavoidable vulnerability. The book will make a major contribution to the growing contemporary discussion in the field.”

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Map Quest

BY MICHAEL TOMASKY

I WAS INTRIGUED TO READ IN EARLY OCTOBER ABOUT the sale at auction, for nearly \$4 million, of a map. It wasn't, naturally, just any map: It was the first atlas of the world ever printed, from 1477, based on the cartographic calculations of Claudius Ptolemaeus, the

chap we call Ptolemy, who lived in Roman Egypt in the second century AD.

I was intrigued to read this for a straightforward reason: I love maps. I can study them for hours. I leave road atlases of the United States strewn around the house—in the bathroom, in the TV room—so that, when the mood strikes me, I can dip in and bone up on the state parks of Oregon, the path of Interstate 70 as it roams from Baltimore to its less distinguished western terminus in central Utah, or the rather elaborate Kentucky parkway system (the Daniel Boone, the Bluegrass, the exotically named Pennyryle), obviously conceived and built in a once-upon-a-time Kentucky that believed in large public expenditure.

That parkway system explains what it is that I find so fascinating about maps. They tell you about history—about how and when places were discovered, how and when things were built; how and when, to be a little more grandiose about it, we humans acquire knowledge. Human triumph and folly are as alive on a map as they are in a history book: To study maps of, say, New York City over the course of a couple centuries, as I have done, is to glean very specific insight into how humans learn about and master, for better (Frederick Law Olmsted) and worse (Robert Moses), our environment.

PTOLEMY FACED SEVERAL CHALLENGES, precisely because of the way he acquired his knowledge: In the second cen-

tury, all he had to go on were the verbal descriptions given to him by seafaring men returning from voyage. The memory banks of second-century sailors, undoubtedly drenched in mead, proved unreliable: News accounts at the time of the auction noted the huge Scotland and tiny England, the Asia even vaster than Asia actually is, and of course the complete absence of the Americas. But all in all, the newspapers asserted, old Ptolemy acquitted himself pretty nicely. Things were basically in the right place.

I thought of Ptolemy two weeks later, when my friend David gave me my first-ever look at Google Earth. I suppose this is old hat to some of you, but: Wowie Zowie! It's just about the coolest thing you'll ever see.

You can start out looking at the globe. Then you zoom in to a continent. Then to a country, then a state or region, and right on down to a specific address. Sure enough—there's the house I grew up in, on Amherst Road, and there's the Hackett's house, and the Maiolo's, and the Cox's, and everyone else's. There's that birch tree my mother planted in 1967. How large it's grown!

Of more universal interest, just move your cursor around a bit, and—Mon

Dieux, there's the Champ de Mars, and Les Invalides! And look, there's the Green Zone in Baghdad—outlined, sure enough, in a thin green line.

BUT AS I STUDIED THIS NEW, GOOGLE-Bized Earth, I had a dark thought: We might now have replaced Ptolemy's problem of not enough knowledge with the cyber-age problem of too much knowledge. Every single inch of our natural and man-made world has been photographed and plotted and mapped and is available to anyone in the world who has a computer.

As you might imagine, privacy issues arise. David told me that Google Earth users append little pinpoints on the program showing places of interest. So if you Google Earth Los Angeles, for example, you might see Tom Cruise's house, or Cameron Diaz's, or Cher's, or whomever's—all identified by address.

I wonder whether having the world presented in such microscopic detail is a grand thing. Granted, it's fun to see what Cher's house looks like, or to check out the exact relationship to the beach of that hotel you've booked in the Bahamas, or peruse the street grid of downtown Vientiane.

But I'm also vaguely discomfited by the easy availability of all this information. And I

don't even mean terrorists, although the thought of an al-Qaeda man being able to zoom in on the Sears Tower and then tilt and rotate the view to get a nice 3-D look (another feature of Google Earth) is something less than

reassuring. No—I'm thinking more of, say, real-estate agents and their sort: the vast army of private-sector snoopers who collect information on us. It doesn't make me long for inaccurate renderings of Scotland, but I stay mindful that if I can see into other people's business, then they can see into mine. **TAP**

